

70043

May 5, 1950

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable Seth W. Richardson  
Chairman  
Loyalty Review Board  
United States Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge your letter of May 4, 1950,  
regarding loyalty investigations and reports concerning persons  
identified before the Tydings Subcommittee.

Since the questions raised in your communication  
involve matters of policy which must be passed upon by the  
Department of Justice, I am referring your letter to Mr. Peyton  
Ford, The Assistant to the Attorney General, for consideration  
and reply.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

DECLASSIFIED BY 2989  
ON 4/12/78 D98/DC

CHS:NRJ:hw

RECORDED - 1110

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF 4-20-78

BY SPL, MSGR,  
MAY 8 1950  
COMM - FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RECEIVED  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
MAY 5 5 44 PM '50  
12-23278-159  
MAY 5 19 PM '50  
RECEIVED  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
MAY 5 19 PM '50  
RECEIVED  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
MAY 5 19 PM '50

3014

Mr. Peyton Ford  
The Assistant to the Attorney General  
Director, FBI

May 5, 1950

LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909  
ON 4/12/78 Dg/DLC

Attached are copies of a letter dated May 4, 1950, addressed to the Bureau by Mr. Seth W. Richardson, Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, with further reference to cases mentioned before the Tydings Subcommittee now being reviewed by the Board.

You will note that Mr. Richardson lists twenty-one cases and requests the Bureau to advise him "whether or not any and all investigative reports and pertinent information secured under authority of any Statute, Executive Order or any other authority whatsoever, relating to each of the above listed cases and relevant to questions of loyalty, has been furnished to the Loyalty Review Board." The twenty-one cases listed are identical to those listed in a similar letter received by the Department from Mr. Richardson.

In discussing the letter received by the Department last evening with an official of the Bureau you requested that we review the individual cases listed and advise you whether the cases were espionage investigations, whether they were under active investigation at the present time and the nature of the investigation conducted in each case in order that you might discuss the matter further with Mr. Dawson and Mr. Richardson.

In nine of the cases listed in the attached letter from Mr. Richardson we have already furnished the Board with material and reports where available and not already in the possession of the Civil Service Commission because the nine individuals in question, specifically, Victor M. Hunt, Joseph T. Jankowski, Mrs. Preston Keesling Lewis, Fred Warner Neal, Norman T. Hess, Isham William Perkins, Edward George Posniak, Max Abraham Volin and Helene Yugas, have been subjects of investigation or inquiry by the Bureau under the provisions of the Loyalty Order or Public Law 402, 80th Congress, since the effective date of Executive Order 9835. Copies of the letters directed to the Board concerning these nine individual cases have previously been furnished to you.

With respect to the remaining twelve individuals listed in Mr. Richardson's letter, which you will note include Mary Jane Keeney, Gustavo Duran and Robert Talbott Miller, III, there is no indication that any of these twelve individuals are presently employed in the Executive Branch of the Government and none of them have been subjects of investigation or inquiry by the Bureau under the provisions of the Loyalty Order or such Public Laws as Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America Program), Public Law 472, 80th Congress (European Recovery Program) and the Atomic Energy Act, since the effective date of Executive Order 9835.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CHS:NRJ:hwh

RECORDED

1121-23278-160

✓

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten notes and stamps]*

Pursuant to our understanding of your instructions to an official of the Bureau, as outlined in the Bureau's memorandum to you of April 26, 1950, which you confirmed as correct in a telephonic conversation with a Bureau official on April 27, 1950, we have not furnished any data or report to the Loyalty Review Board on these remaining twelve individuals.

Concerning these twelve cases, there is set forth below the information you requested as to which of the cases are espionage type investigations, whether they are under active investigation at the present time and the nature of the investigation, if any, conducted in each case:

PRESENTLY ACTIVE ESPIONAGE TYPE INVESTIGATIONS

Gustavo Duran

Mary J. Keeney

Robert Talbott Miller, III

Subject of active Internal Security - R investigation.  
Subject of active Internal Security - R investigation.  
Subject of active Internal Security - R; Registration Act investigations.

SUBJECTS OF SPECIAL INQUIRY TYPE OR HATCH ACT INVESTIGATIONS BY FBI PRIOR TO EFFECTIVE DATE EXECUTIVE ORDER 9835

William Draper Carter

John Richard Lindsey

David Randolph

Subject of Special Inquiry type investigation for Office of Coordinator of Information and reports furnished to OCI in 1942.  
Subject of Special Inquiry type investigation for Office of Coordinator of Information and reports furnished to OCI in 1942.  
Subject of investigation under Hatch Act as employee of Office of War Information and report furnished State Department in 1946.

NOT SUBJECTS OF INDEPENDENT FBI INVESTIGATION

Leonard Horwin

Joseph Josephson

Edythe Lemon

Gottfried Mann

Margery S. Posner

Jeanne H. Taylor

Tolson

Ladd

Clegg

Glavin

Nichols

Rosen

Tracy

Harbo

Mohr

Tele. Room

Nease

Gandy

3016

The letter addressed to the Bureau by Mr. Richardson under date of May 4, 1950, has been acknowledged, and he has been advised that this matter is being referred to you for consideration and reply inasmuch as the questions raised in his communication to the Bureau involve matters of policy to be decided upon by the Department. Appended for your information is a copy of the Bureau's acknowledgement to Mr. Richardson.

We will appreciate receiving your further advice in this matter at your earliest convenience.

*Eg*  
Enclosures

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR

DATE: May 8, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT:

Tolson ☒  
 Ladd ☒  
 Clegg ☒  
 Glavin ☒  
 Nichols ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Tracy ☒  
 Harbo ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Nease ☒  
 Gandy ☒

Peyton Ford called and stated that he had obtained an interpretation of the White House as to the President's statement to Senator Tydings with regard to making available the State Department's files; that the White House indicated that they only intend to make those files available which the Appropriations Committee had seen in 1949; that they are not making any FBI files available.

Mr. Ford stated that he and Donald Dawson had been designated to hold Senator Tydings in line on that point.

DL:lad

cc - Mr. Belmont

RECORDED - 89

EX-35

121-23278-161

166-7225-319

59 JUN 27 1950

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Room 5744

5-9



, 1950

TO:

✓ Director  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Carlson  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy  
Personnel Files Section  
Records Section  
Mrs. Skillman

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

See Me

For Appropriate Action

Send File

Note and Return

Clyde Tolson

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 9, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT:

Tolson ☒  
 Ladd ☒  
 Clegg ☒  
 Glavin ☒  
 Nichols ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Tracy ☒  
 Harbo ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Nease ☒  
 Gandy ☒

While talking with Peyton Ford on other matters, he advised Mr. Nichols and Mr. Ladd that he was going to assign Mike Horan from his office to review all of the State Department files which the President was making available to the Tydings' Committee prior to the time that they were made available to the Committee for the purpose of blocking out the names of any confidential informants or sources which should be protected in Bureau reports. *u*

He requested the Bureau to make an Agent available to work with Mike Horan on this project. *u*

We both advised him that we could not do this that this would be a very bad procedure; that the FBI should not be a party to reviewing the State Department's files prior to the time that they were made available to a Senate Committee by the President. He then suggested that the Bureau might go through its own files checking the material which has been sent to the State Department and checking to see if there are any names which the Bureau desired to be blocked out as undesirable for the Committee to see. *u*

We again pointed out that this would be impractical and unwise. *u*

It was suggested that in the event Mike Horan is going to make this review that at the time he is reviewing the reports that if he has any questions about any particular reports, that he then contact the Bureau. *u*

DML:dad

cc - Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Belmont

6879

108  
51 JUN 5 1950

RECORDED - 93 MAY 17 1950 34

INDEXED - 93

EX-136

Right. I want no part  
to review of such files or  
the blocking out of in-  
formation.

121-23278-1102

162-39745-1554

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. Ladd *DL*

DATE: May 9, 1950

FROM : E. H. Winterrowd *EW*SUBJECT: LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES -  
STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson ☒  
 Ladd ☒  
 Clegg ☒  
 Glavin ☒  
 Nichols ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Tracy ☒  
 Harbo ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Nease ☒  
 Gandy ☒

On May 9, 1950, when the writer talked to Mr. Peyton Ford concerning clarification of his penned notation on a memorandum to him, he advised that it was his understanding the following course of action was being taken with respect to making available State Department files to the Tydings Committee:

He said that with respect to ex-employees who were in McCarthy's list of 81, only the material which had been made available to the Appropriations Committee (either Senate or House) in 1947 would be made accessible to the Tydings Committee.

With respect to cases decided on loyalty grounds, either dismissal or retention, General Snow is to make available (apparently to read) a summary of the information and the action taken. If more specific details are requested by the Committee or if the veracity of the summary is questioned, then the State Department file will be made available.

With respect to employees against whom administrative action is taken, Mr. Ford said it was his understanding Mr. Donald Nichols will make available a summary of information and action to the Committee. If anything is doubted or questioned, then the State Department file will be made available.

It might be noted that Mr. Ford indicated that he was scheduled to see Senator Tydings as of 2:00 or 2:30 P.M., May 9, 1950.

ACTION:

None. The above is submitted for information purposes.

EH W:WMJ

RECORDED

JUN 13 1950

12

NOTED 2231

RECEIVED

53 JUL 5 1950

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 9, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DML*

SUBJECT:

Tolson ☒  
 Ladd ☒  
 Clegg ☒  
 Glavin ☒  
 Nichols ☒  
 Rosen ☐  
 Tracy ☐  
 Harbo ☐  
 Mohr ☐  
 Tele. Room ☐  
 Nease ☐  
 Gandy ☐

While talking with Peyton Ford on other matters, he exhibited to Mr. Nichols and Mr. Ladd a letter addressed to the Attorney General from Senator Tydings, which dealt with making available by the President to the Tydings' Committee the files of the State Department. *U*

Senator Tydings was requesting assurance from the Attorney General that all loyalty reports on those 81 cases named had been sent by the FBI to the State Department in order that the Committee might be assured that they were obtaining not only information from the State Department but all that which the FBI had furnished to the State Department. *U*

Mr. Ford wanted the Bureau to take this letter and to suggest how it might be answered. *U*

We pointed out to Mr. Ford that under the provisions set up in the Loyalty Program, the Bureau does not send reports direct to the employing agency but rather sends all copies to the Civil Service Commission, who in turn transmit the reports to the appropriate employing agency; that, therefore, all the Bureau could say was that the loyalty reports had been sent to the Civil Service Commission. The Bureau obviously could not certify that the Commission had sent them all to the State Department. *U*

In light of this, it was suggested that the Civil Service Commission would be the proper agency to answer Senator Tydings' letter. *U*

DML:dad

cc - Mr. Belmont  
 Mr. Nichols

*Right. But make certain all reports in these cases have been sent to C & C.*

*H.*  
*5-11*  
 RECORDED

121-23278-164  
 JUN 13 1950  
 12

57 JUL 6 1950

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Peyton Ford  
The Assistant to the Attorney General

DATE: May 5, 1950

FROM : Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to your telephone conversation last evening with a Bureau official in which you advised him that you had just learned the President is going to permit the Tydings Subcommittee to call at the White House and review the State Department loyalty files on the 81 individuals who have been mentioned by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

You indicated that you were sure the Attorney General had no advance information regarding this matter and in view of this development you suggested that the Bureau not send any more material or data to Mr. Seth Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board, in connection with the Board's review of the 81 cases since you desire to determine from the White House what position is being adopted with respect to these cases.

You, of course, are aware that the Bureau already has furnished to the Board material on some of the 81 cases. It is my understanding of your instructions, as set forth above, that the Bureau should immediately stop sending to the Board material on any of the cases identified before the Tydings Subcommittee and presently being reviewed by the Board except in those instances where we are conducting active full field or supplemental investigations under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 regarding persons on Mr. Richardson's list who presently are employed in the Executive Branch. In such instances, the provisions of Executive Order 9835 itself would require that we furnish to the Civil Service Commission the reports of such investigations upon completion.

If the Bureau's understanding of your instructions in this regard is not correct, I would appreciate receiving your immediate advice.

ENCLOSURE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *DeLass.*  
DATE *4-27-78* *Bope*

RECORDED

121-23278-165  
JUN 13 1950  
12

DECLASSIFIED BY

ON

*2909*  
*4/12/78* *DPG/DLC*

RECEIVED

*AS*  
*I would,*  
*to continue*  
*however,*  
*the other material AS*  
*Richardson + I can see*  
*Seth R.*  
*Bope*

FILED IN 100-1-3-1

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd *DL*  
 FROM : Mr. E. H. Winterrowd *EHW*  
 SUBJECT: LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: May 9, 1950

*Belmont*  
 Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Rm. *b6* \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease *b7C* \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Reference is made to the attached memorandum from the Director to Mr. Peyton Ford dated May 5, 1950, wherein Mr. Ford has made the notation: "Continue as marked -- I would, however, \_\_\_ to continue to furnish the other material as per our conversation until Dawson and see Seth R." *U*

*2-2-50*  
 Pursuant to your instructions, I first contacted *[redacted]* of Mr. Ford, to determine the meaning of the above-quoted notation. She, in turn, referred me to Mr. Ford and he stated that he could see how we were possibly confused and he stated further that he meant the (Bureau should continue to supply information to the Loyalty Review Board in the same manner as he previously had indicated,) until such time as he, Mr. Ford, can talk to Mr. Dawson at the White House and with Mr. Seth Richardson. He said, in other words, the Bureau should furnish loyalty reports and information pertaining to the loyalty of present employees of the State Department, but that if a request for a security type report were received, such a report should not be given to Mr. Richardson at this time. If there are any changes as a result of his conference with Mr. Dawson and Mr. Richardson, he will advise the Bureau. *U*

Upon my departure from Mr. Ford's office, I specifically stated that I understood that the Bureau should continue to operate on the same basis with the Loyalty Review Board as was previously agreed to by Mr. Ford and that if a request were received for a security type report, that it would not be furnished to the Loyalty Review Board. He stated that this was correct. *U*

ACTION:

Inasmuch as it was necessary to obtain clarification as to Mr. Ford's penned notation set forth on the Bureau's memorandum of May 5, 1950, it is believed that this should be set forth in writing to Mr. Ford. In this regard it is suggested that this confirmation be handled by the attached memorandum of May 9, 1950, directed to Mr. Peyton Ford, wherein reference is made

ENCL. *mlw*

EHW:WMJ

Attachment 1950

RECORDED *mlw*


121-23278-165  
 JUN 13 1950

12

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 121-23278-165

to a request by Mr. Seth Richardson for a copy of an FBI report on Robert Talbott Miller, III, who, it will be noted, is no longer with the State Department, but who was included in the list of 81 cases referred to by Senator McCarthy. This request of Mr. Richardson is a request for a security type report. The request, consequently, falls within the category which at the present time is not to be complied with.

Accordingly, it is recommended that the attached memorandum serve two purposes: (1) To confirm the clarification of the above-referred-to notation and (2) to refer to Mr. Ford the request of Seth Richardson.

✓ 

u

Copy

3013

Nest Asheville, N. C.  
May 12, 1950.

63989

Honorable Millard E. Tydings,  
U. S. Senator from Maryland.  
Washington D. C.

FIVE

Dear Senator:

Would you, or any of your committee, be interested in knowing what the reaction of many of the American citizens are to the debacle which you are now conducting?

Have you given proper consideration to the meaning of the Red, White, and Blue arrangement in the flag of our country?

Do you realize that you gentlemen can and do sit over there in Washington, D. C. and legislate human lives into battle, for the protection and the perpetuation of our freedom and liberty?

Do you believe that it has a tendency to add to the patriotic and moral fiber of our citizenry to see this greatest of all deliberative bodies--the United States Senate--being now prostituted down into the muck and mire of stupidity, for the purpose of promoting the personal political standing of certain people, who are too steeped in their asinine proclivities, to comprehend the fact that their own actions at this particular time is far worse in its influence against Democracy, than the worst individual Communist which you may scare up?

Can't you see, or do you care, that our Secretary of State is right now sweating out his very life's blood trying to stop Communism where it is, and not allowing it to spread all over the world? How may he do this after Joe McCarthy, Cherry, Stassen, Dewey, Taft, and now of all people Herbert C. Hoover? act in such unstatesman like manner as to reflect discredit, and dishonor upon our State Department? Can they be PATRIOTIC? Are these men placing their COUNTRY ahead of their own personal ambition? The men who died in the last two wars, and those who are presently maimed, helplessly crippled, and blind forever, had no choice but to sacrifice all this for their country--only to have their noble effort thrown to the dogs!

Do you think that this give me any pleasure to have to write to you in this vain? My heart is filled with sadness at the thoughtlessness of men who should be great, and noble! Oh! that my life could only be sacrificed, in order to erase away all the stain which Senator Joe McCarthy has smeared upon the great escutcheon of liberty and freedom!

Your committee are prolonging this agony, and most foolish crucifixion of our public servants, to the point where there is now a cry going up for the limitation and the restriction of congressional liberty of action! Can't you see that you are destroying your own usefulness, and therein striking the worst blow at our freedom that has been handed out during our lifetime?

These people are aiding and abetting Communism in our country, when they know of any person or act which will be detrimental to our well being and safety, and they commit treason when they do not report such actions to the Department of Justice for proper investigation and prosecution! In addition to being most incompetent to bring about any desirable results, your committee's actions smells to the high heavens!

Very truly yours

*James H. Miller*  
James H. Miller

RECORDED - 65  
INDEXED - 65  
21-23378-166  
22-9172

back up Dec 3-17-50  
RELATIONS COMMITTEE may

PM 151

Mr. Peyton Ford  
The Assistant to the Attorney General

May 15, 1950

Director, FBI

53988

EXECUTIVE BRANCH  
U. S. GOVERNMENT  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DECLASSIFIED BY

ON

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Reference is made to your memorandum of May 10, 1950, attaching a copy of a list of individuals identified from Senator McCarthy's speech before the Senate on February 20, 1950, whose names were also included on the "subpoena" list received from the Senate Subcommittee (S. Res. 231).

In accordance with the instructions set forth in your memorandum, there is attached a list of the individuals, as they appear on the "subpoena" list which you furnished to us, setting forth the material you requested with respect to each individual identified. In those instances where the individual involved has been the subject of investigation by the Bureau under the Loyalty Order, Public Laws 402 and 472, 80th Congress (Security of America and European Recovery Programs) or the Atomic Energy Act, photostatic copies of Bureau transmittal letters showing the reports transmitted or the action taken are furnished as exhibits.

You will note that the attachment is divided into Parts I, II and III. Part I pertains to the individuals identified on the "subpoena" list. In Part II there is furnished for your information material relating to additional individuals not identified on the "subpoena" list but who were identified on a list furnished to the Bureau by the Honorable Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board, in a letter dated April 5, 1950. The list furnished by Mr. Richardson under date of April 5, 1950, apparently is being used by the Loyalty Review Board as the basis for its review of the 81 cases in question. In Part III of the attachment there are furnished the exhibits consisting of Bureau transmittal letters described in Parts I and II.

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

CHS; NR; JHS

5/16/50 3:30 PM

121-23278-167

Personally del. to Chief  
Palmer

RECORDED

62-71123

MAY 17 1950

FBI

RECEIVED READING ROOM

Tolson  
Ladd  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Tele. Room  
Nease  
Gandy

52 JUN 28 1950

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 4-27-78

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: May 15, 1950

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT:

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Henry Cabot [redacted] told me confidentially that Senator Lodge had prepared a letter to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations charging that the Tydings' investigation to date had been farcical; that no good purpose could be served and therefore he was withdrawing; that Senator Hickenlooper would endorse this view. U

b6  
b7C

[redacted] stated that he did not know whether Lodge would send the letter but he was giving serious thought to it. U

[redacted] commented that he had talked to several Republican leaders recently and they were fearful that they will win both the House and the Senate this fall which they do not want as they would prefer for a Democratic majority to continue and they would be content merely to pick up 3 or 4 seats in the Senate and a few seats in the House. U

LBN:LH

RECORDED - 85

MAY 18 1950

53 MAY 25 1950

INDEXED - 85

3

121-23278-168

62-91923-46

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. BELMONT *VPK*

DATE: May 16, 1950

FROM : V. P. KEAY *VPK*SUBJECT: CHARGES AGAINST THE STATE DEPARTMENT BY SENATOR MC CARTHY  
*Communists*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mike Horan advised me confidentially that he had reviewed the files at the State Department which are to be made available to the Senate Committee strictly from the standpoint of seeing that there was nothing in the files which would be harmful to the Department of Justice and which did not belong in the files. He stated that he wanted to pass on the following information with reference to Bureau information he observed therein.

Horan stated in the Loyalty file on Gertrude Cameron he noted a copy of a long letter from the Bureau to Seth Richardson, Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, dated April 21, 1950. One paragraph of this letter furnished for Richardson's confidential information the identity of one of our confidential informants. Horan stated that he suggested to the State Department that they block out this paragraph as it had no pertinency and might be harmful. Also he noted in the Gertrude Cameron case a memorandum from Arch K. Jean to Mr. Nicholson of the State Department dated October 21, 1948, saying something to the effect that the FBI did not make as complete an investigation as was possible on Mrs. Cameron's husband. Horan stated there was no indication as to why the investigation on Mrs. Cameron's husband was pertinent in this file. It is noted that the investigation was conducted on Mrs. Cameron and the only references made to her husband were incidental or were related to her activities.

Horan also advised that in the file involving J. Robinson, he noted pencil notations on the Bureau report which was written by Charles A. May at Washington, D. C., in April, 1944. These pencil notations identified the various informants in the report. According to Horan, there was no information as to how the informants had been identified by the State Department. Horan stated he noted there were two original copies of this report in file and one photostat. The photostat did not have any notations on it. Horan stated he suggested to the State Department that they remove the two white copies of the report which contain notations and leave only the photostatic copy in the file.

VPK:mls:mer

RECORDED - 37

INDEXED - 37

JUN 6 1950

33

JUN 12 1950

*470 Memo to Mr. Belmont 5-23-50  
 RER-ee*

121-23278-168X

62-39749-1581

*VPK*

gm  
May 17, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD

On May 12 Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. called to see me stating he desired to discuss with me informally and confidentially the matters which had developed in connection with the review of the State Department files in the 81 cases being considered by the Tydings Committee.

He stated that he and other members of the Committee were now reviewing these files at the White House and after several days of such review he did not know whether he was stupid or ignorant but he was terribly confused about the contents of the files in that the files contained no recommendations and in cases where Loyalty hearings had not been held by the State Department there was no indication as to why they had not been held. He stated furthermore that in some instances there was no indication that various leads had been followed out which appeared in the files and he was wondering whether I could give him my reaction upon the same.

I told the Senator that of course I had not seen the files and was not therefore in a position to speak authoritatively about them. I stated that in so far as the FBI reports were concerned obviously we reached no conclusion because that was not our function, but that we did endeavor to follow out every lead which we developed and also endeavored to indicate the reliability of the source from which we obtained the information. The Senator stated he appreciated completely the position of the Bureau in the matter but he had been confused about the files as a whole.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

SENT FROM D. O.  
TIME 4:00  
DATE 5-17-50  
BY Kew

JEH:EH

Tolson  
Ladd  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Tele. Room  
Nease  
Gandy

56 MAY 24 1950

121-23278-169

62-59719-1559

MAY 18 1950

The Director

May 17, 1950

D. M. Ladd

EXECUTIVE BRANCH, U. S. GOVERNMENT  
(NAMES IDENTIFIED BY SENATOR MCCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

PURPOSE: To respond to your inquiry as to whether we are sound in not having mentioned, in our memorandum to Peyton Ford of May 15, 1950, incidental references concerning an individual named by Senator McCarthy which appeared in collateral reports furnished to the State Department on other people and in not mentioning confidential memoranda furnished to the State Department in connection with the Gregory case and investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees.

BACKGROUND: My memorandum of May 15, 1950, attached for approval a memorandum to Mr. Peyton Ford furnishing to the Department, in accordance with his request, information regarding material sent to the Civil Service Commission and/or the State Department regarding the 81 individuals identified by Senator McCarthy. This material was furnished in connection with a request made by Senator Tydings that the Attorney General furnish him with a letter regarding the material transmitted by the Bureau concerning these 81 cases.

On page two of my memorandum of May 15, 1950, it was pointed out that in connection with the review of our files, in addition to reports and memoranda specifically relating to individuals identified on the Tydings "subpoena" list, it was found that collateral references to these individuals were located in other reports and communications transmitted to the Department of State in some instances; that as a general rule these incidental references had not been included in the memorandum to the Department; that in the past confidential memoranda have been supplied to the State Department in connection with the "Gregory" case, as well as investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees, and that in these memoranda numerous individuals were involved and information from highly confidential sources was included; that in such memoranda, where one of the persons named by McCarthy is mentioned collaterally, we had not listed the Gregory summary or the summary on the underground Communist activities of government employees since it was felt to do so would undoubtedly cause the Subcommittee to request copies of the confidential memoranda.

With respect to this particular paragraph in my memorandum of May 15, 1950, you noted, "Are we absolutely sound in marked paragraph on P. 2. I want nothing which is material withheld."

It is felt that we are entirely sound in not having mentioned incidental references appearing in reports or memoranda given to the State Department concerning an entirely different person or subject. An example of the type of incidental references referred to would be a case where we have conducted a loyalty of Voice of

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease **NRJ:jjs**  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

America investigation on an employee of the State Department who perhaps associated with one of the 81 individuals named on the "subpoena" list. Naturally, the report furnished to the State Department would mention this association and thereafter set forth briefly information concerning the associate, who happens to be one of the 81 individuals. The substance of any incidental references of this nature appearing in collateral reports on other individuals would, of course, be included in the loyalty or Voice of America investigative reports pertaining to the individual who appears on the "subpoena" list. Consequently, it was felt that listing collateral references of this nature would be a duplication and not serve any particular purpose.

With regard to summary memoranda furnished to the State Department in connection with the Gregory case and investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees, the general substance of the information appearing in such summary memoranda would be reflected in the loyalty or Voice of America investigative reports furnished to the Civil Service Commission where the individual in question has been the subject of an investigation of this type. With this in mind, it was again felt that it would be duplication to list such summary memoranda and, further, that it would be extremely dangerous to list them since, if we did so, the Tydings Subcommittee would undoubtedly demand that they be produced and they, of course, contain information concerning numerous individuals not mentioned on the Tydings "subpoena" list and also contain information from highly confidential sources.

As you know, Robert Talbott Miller, III, was one of the subjects in the Gregory case. Miller resigned from the State Department on December 13, 1946, prior to the time the Loyalty Order was promulgated. He, of course, has not been the subject of a loyalty investigation or investigation under the Voice of America Program, the European Recovery Program, or the Atomic Energy Act. At the present time he is the subject of a pending Internal Security - R; Registration Act investigation by the Bureau. Miller is one of the individuals named on the "subpoena" list and with respect to him we pointed out in our memorandum of May 15, 1950, to the Department that he had not been investigated under Executive Order 9835; that he had resigned from the State Department on December 13, 1946; that Civil Service Commission records fail to reflect any employment of Miller in the Executive Branch subsequent to his termination with the State Department. It was pointed out that Miller was investigated by the Bureau in 1944 and 1945 under the provisions of the Hatch Act and we specifically mentioned each report in the Hatch Act investigation which has been furnished to the Department of State. We also specifically referred to memoranda dated February 19, 1946, and July 15, 1946, addressed to Frederick B. Lyon of the State Department under the caption "Robert T. Miller, III." Our files also reflect that letters were addressed to the Secretary of State on February 25, 1946, and November 25, 1946, enclosing summaries of the Gregory subjects, including Miller. We did not mention these letters of February 25, 1946, and November 25, 1946, since we felt that it was dangerous to do so. If they had been mentioned, the Tydings Subcommittee would in all probability demand that they be produced and naturally, in addition to referring to Miller, the summaries referred to other subjects of the Gregory case who were not included among the individuals presently being considered by the Tydings Subcommittee. Furthermore, they contain information obtained by the Bureau from highly confidential sources.

ACTION: None. This is for your information.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
 Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 FROM : Peyton Ford  
 The Assistant to the Attorney General  
 SUBJECT:

DATE: May 10, 1950

Mr. Tolson ✓  
 Mr. Ladd ✓  
 Mr. Clegg ✓  
 Mr. Glavin ✓  
 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Tracy ✓  
 Mr. Harbo ✓  
 Mr. Belmont ✓  
 Mr. Mohr ✓  
 Tele. Room  
 Mr. Nease  
 Miss Gandy

There is attached hereto copy of a list of 81 individuals identified from Senator McCarthy's speech before the Senate on February 20, 1950, whose names were also included on the "subpoena" list received from the Senate Subcommittee (S. Res. 231). 4 X

The Attorney General wishes to prepare at the earliest possible moment a letter to Senator Tydings listing, first, those individuals in the group on whom loyalty investigations were conducted, and attaching copies of the Bureau's transmittal letters or memoranda to the Civil Service Commission. It is understood that these transmittal letters identify the investigative reports making up the report of full field loyalty investigations. 4

In this group there will undoubtedly be cases in which a loyalty investigation was never instituted because of the absence of derogatory information in the Bureau's files or because it was learned prior to the institution of the investigation that the individual had left the service. Also, there may be cases in which investigations were instituted but later discontinued because the individuals left the service during the course of the investigation. It is desired to list these individuals with an indication of what transpired in this respect. 4

There may have been, with respect to some of these individuals, memoranda forwarded to the State Department prior to, during, or following the loyalty investigation, or in cases in which no loyalty investigation has been made. It is desired to make appropriate identifying reference to any such memoranda. 4

It is not necessary in this connection to include any material submitted subsequent to February 20, 1950, which date may be accepted as the cut-off date in the search for materials referred to. 4

ENCL.

74

memo to Mr. Ford  
 5-15-50  
 PFS/mef/hs

Deleted Copy Sent  
 by letter 11-3-75  
 Per FOIA Request mcl

Declassified by: PwL  
 Richard Special  
 Assistant to the  
 Attorney General by  
 Louis S. 7-70

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 JUN 13 1950

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RECEIVED-LADD  
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LOYALTY SECTION

B I  
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RECEIVED-DIRECTOR  
F B I  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
MAY 10 11 51 AM '50

21









# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 9, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: INVESTIGATION BY SENATOR TYDINGS' COMMITTEE  
OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT LOYALTY CASES

Tolson ☒  
Ladd ☒  
Clegg ☒  
Glavin ☒  
Nichols ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Tracy ☒  
Harbo ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Nease ☒  
Gandy ☒

Clive Palmer called at my office at 5:40 PM tonight and left the attached memorandum listing the names of the eighty-one individuals named in the subpoena by Senator McCarthy.

Mr. Palmer stated that Peyton Ford had been in conference all afternoon with Senator Tydings; that Senator Tydings insists that he wants a letter signed by the Attorney General listing the dates of reports on loyalty cases sent to the Civil Service Commission. Apparently they are fearful that the State Department's files have been stripped. Therefore, Mr. Palmer stated that the Attorney General and the White House had instructed that the Bureau prepare a memorandum to the Attorney General sending over a copy of the letter of transmittal in each instance where loyalty reports were transmitted to the Civil Service Commission inasmuch as this cover letter will show the itemization of the reports.

Another paragraph should indicate that the individuals listed thereunder were the subject of a preliminary loyalty investigation which was discontinued when it was learned that the employee had left the Government service and, therefore, no reports were sent to the Civil Service Commission.

A third paragraph should list any cases where no investigation was conducted because no derogatory information was available.

He also advised that Senator Tydings suggested that a cut-off date of February 20, 1950, be set and that nothing be listed thereafter.

I told Mr. Palmer that the Bureau would not prepare any such list until we got a memorandum from the Department in writing listing exactly what it was that the Department wanted. He promised to have this prepared and sent to the Bureau tomorrow, May 10, 1950.

ENCLOSURE In the meantime, I would suggest that we start working on this and would suggest that a photostatic copy of the letter of transmittal to the Civil Service Commission be prepared, which will only show the name of the Agent preparing the report, the date of the report and the office where made.

Also, I would suggest that the Bureau not use a cut-off date but include everything up to the present time. The Department can use whatever cut-off date they want after they get the Bureau's

memorandum.

DML:dad JUL 10 1950

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EX-3 JUN 13 1950

121-23278-170

I concur. H.

5-11

FROM

DO-7

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO  
OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

Mr. Tolson ☒ (✓)  
Mr. Clegg ☐ ( )  
Mr. Glavin ☐ ( )  
Mr. Ladd ☒ (✓)  
Mr. Nichols ☒ (✓)  
Mr. Rosen ☐ ( )  
Mr. Tracy ☐ ( )  
Mr. Gurnea ☐ ( )  
Mr. Harbo ☐ ( )  
Mr. Belmont ☐ ( )  
Mr. Mohr ☐ ( )  
Mr. Nease ☐ ( )  
Miss Gandy ☐ ( )

See Me ☐ ( )  
Note and Return ☐ ( )  
For Your Recommendation ☐ ( )  
What are the facts? ☐ ( )

Remarks:

Are we absolutely  
sound in marked  
paragraph on  
P. 2. I want  
nothing which  
is systematic  
withheld.

H.

memo to Director

NRJ:js 5-17-50

ENCLOSURE

RECORDED 71-21-23278-170  
JUN 13 1950  
12

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: May 15, 1950

FROM : Mr. D. M. Ladd *DL*

Tolson ☒  
 Ladd ☐  
 Clegg ☐  
 Glavin ☒  
 Nichols ☒  
 Rosen ☐  
 Tracy ☐  
 Harbo ☐  
 Mohr ☐  
 Tele. Room ☐  
 Nease ☐  
 Gandy ☐

SUBJECT: EXECUTIVE BRANCH, U. S. GOVERNMENT  
 (Names identified by Senator McCarthy)  
 LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

PURPOSE

To recommend that the attached memorandum concerning the individuals identified by Senator McCarthy before the Tydings Subcommittee be forwarded to Mr. Peyton Ford pursuant to his request to be advised regarding the dissemination of information in the Bureau's files and the results of investigations regarding these persons to the Department of State.

BACKGROUND

You will recall that in my memorandum of May 9, 1950, which is attached, I pointed out that Clive Palmer had called at my office on the evening of May 9, 1950, and left a memorandum listing the names of the 81 individuals named in the subpoena of the Senate Subcommittee. Mr. Palmer advised that Peyton Ford had been in conference all afternoon with Senator Tydings; that Senator Tydings insists that he wants a letter signed by the Attorney General listing the dates of reports on loyalty cases sent to the Civil Service Commission, as well as information on the individuals who were the subjects of preliminary inquiry loyalty investigations, but which were discontinued upon receipt of information that the employees had left the government service. Palmer further indicated Tydings also desired any cases where no investigation was conducted because no derogatory information was available be listed. According to Palmer, Senator Tydings suggested that a cutoff date of February 20, 1950, be set and that nothing be listed thereafter. Palmer was advised by me that the Bureau would not prepare any such list until we received a memorandum from the Department in writing listing exactly what it was that the Department wanted. It was also suggested that the Bureau not use a cutoff date, but include everything up to the present time. You noted on my memorandum, "I concur."

The attached memorandum dated May 10, 1950, from Peyton Ford requests the following specific information concerning the names included on the "subpoena" list received from the Senate Subcommittee: The Attorney General wishes to prepare a letter to Senator Tydings listing first those individuals in the group on whom loyalty investigations were conducted, attaching copies of the Bureau's transmittal letters or memoranda to the Civil Service Commission; further, in cases where a loyalty investigation was never instituted because of the absence of derogatory information in the Bureau's files or because it was learned prior to the institution of the investigation that the individual had left the service, or where investigations were instituted but later discontinued because the individuals left the service, information is desired regarding what transpired in this respect. Peyton

Attachment

CHS:NRJ:man *man*

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EX-3

ENCLOSURE

JUN 13 1950

Ford further pointed out that there may have been, with regard to some of these individuals, memoranda forwarded to the State Department prior to, during, or following the loyalty investigation, or in cases in which no loyalty investigation has been made. He stated it is desired that the Bureau make appropriate identifying reference to any such memoranda. Peyton Ford, as indicated above, stated it is not necessary to include any material submitted subsequent to February 20, 1950.

All references in the Bureau's files have been reviewed concerning the names set forth on the "subpoena" list furnished by Clive Palmer, together with other individuals who have been identified by Senator McCarthy, and the information requested by the Department has been set forth in the attached memorandum dated May 15, 1950, to Mr. Peyton Ford.

You will observe that the material being furnished to the Department is divided into Parts I, II, and III. Part I pertains to the individuals identified on the "subpoena" list. In Part II, there is furnished for the Department's information material relating to additional individuals not identified on the "subpoena" list, but who were identified previously by Seth W. Richardson in a letter to the Bureau dated April 5, 1950. Part III consists of photostatic copies of transmittal letters requested by the Department.

In connection with the review of our files, in addition to reports and memoranda specifically relating to the individuals identified on the subpoena list, it was found that collateral references to these individuals were located in other reports and communications transmitted to the Department of State in some instances. As a general rule, these incidental references have not been included in the memorandum to the Department. In this same connection, you will recall that in the past confidential memoranda have been supplied to the Department of State in connection with the Gregory case, as well as investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees. In these memoranda in many instances, numerous individuals were involved and information from highly confidential sources was included. In such memoranda, where one of the persons named by McCarthy is mentioned collaterally, we have not listed the Gregory summary or the summary on the underground Communist activities of government employees, since it is felt that to do so would undoubtedly cause the Subcommittee to request copies of the confidential memoranda which at the time were not specifically given to the State Department regarding the individuals concerned with this request.

The review of the references on the individuals in question also revealed in various instances oral information had been furnished to the Department of State. This oral dissemination of information has been noted in the memorandum to Peyton Ford inasmuch as it may have been made a matter of record in the files of the State Department. For us to delete such information might create an erroneous impression that the Bureau is withholding material.

#### ACTION

That the attached memorandum be forwarded to Mr. Peyton Ford.

✓ - 2 -  
3

B-13

U

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: May 17, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*SUBJECT: EXECUTIVE BRANCH, U. S. GOVERNMENT  
(NAMES IDENTIFIED BY SENATOR McCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

*Communicate to State Department*

**PURPOSE:** To respond to your inquiry as to whether we are sound in not having mentioned, in our memorandum to Peyton Ford of May 15, 1950, incidental references concerning an individual named by Senator McCarthy which appeared in collateral reports furnished to the State Department on other people and in not mentioning confidential memoranda furnished to the State Department in connection with the Gregory case and investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees.

**BACKGROUND:** My memorandum of May 15, 1950, attached for approval a memorandum to Mr. Peyton Ford furnishing to the Department, in accordance with his request, information regarding material sent to the Civil Service Commission and/or the State Department regarding the 81 individuals identified by Senator McCarthy. This material was furnished in connection with a request made by Senator Tydings that the Attorney General furnish him with a letter regarding the material transmitted by the Bureau concerning these 81 cases.

On page two of my memorandum of May 15, 1950, it was pointed out that in connection with the review of our files, in addition to reports and memoranda specifically relating to individuals identified on the Tydings "subpoena" list, it was found that collateral references to these individuals were located in other reports and communications transmitted to the Department of State in some instances; that as a general rule these incidental references had not been included in the memorandum to the Department; that in the past confidential memoranda have been supplied to the State Department in connection with the "Gregory" case, as well as investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees, and that in these memoranda numerous individuals were involved and information from highly confidential sources was included; that in such memoranda, where one of the persons named by McCarthy is mentioned collaterally, we had not listed the Gregory summary or the summary on the underground Communist activities of government employees since it was felt to do so would undoubtedly cause the Subcommittee to request copies of the confidential memoranda.

With respect to this particular paragraph in my memorandum of May 15, 1950, you noted, "Are we absolutely sound in marked paragraph on P. 2. I want nothing which is material withheld."

*ENCL.*  
*7/4*  
*7/3*  
It is felt that we are entirely sound in not having mentioned incidental references appearing in reports or memoranda given to the State Department concerning an entirely different person or subject. An example of the type of incidental references referred to would be a case where we have conducted a loyalty or Voice of

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RECEIVED-TOLSON  
FBI  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED  
FBI  
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U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR  
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U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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F.B.I.  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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FBI  
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U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

America investigation on an employee of the State Department who perhaps associated with one of the 81 individuals named on the "subpoena" list. Naturally, the report furnished to the State Department would mention this association and thereafter set forth briefly information concerning the associate, who happens to be one of the 81 individuals. The substance of any incidental references of this nature appearing in collateral reports on other individuals would, of course, be included in the loyalty or Voice of America investigative reports pertaining to the individual who appears on the "subpoena" list. Consequently, it was felt that listing collateral references of this nature would be a duplication and not serve any particular purpose.

With regard to summary memoranda furnished to the State Department in connection with the Gregory case and investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees, the general substance of the information appearing in such summary memoranda would be reflected in the loyalty or Voice of America investigative reports furnished to the Civil Service Commission where the individual in question has been the subject of an investigation of this type. With this in mind, it was again felt that it would be duplication to list such summary memoranda and, further, that it would be extremely dangerous to list them since, if we did so, the Tydings Subcommittee would undoubtedly demand that they be produced and they, of course, contain information concerning numerous individuals not mentioned on the Tydings "subpoena" list and also contain information from highly confidential sources.

As you know, Robert Talbot ~~Miller~~, III, was one of the subjects in the Gregory case. Miller resigned from the State Department on December 13, 1946, prior to the time the Loyalty Order was promulgated. He, of course, has not been the subject of a loyalty investigation or investigation under the Voice of America Program, the European Recovery Program, or the Atomic Energy Act. At the present time he is the subject of a pending Internal Security - R; Registration Act investigation by the Bureau. Miller is one of the individuals named on the "subpoena" list and with respect to him we pointed out in our memorandum of May 15, 1950, to the Department that he had not been investigated under Executive Order 9835; that he had resigned from the State Department on December 13, 1946; that Civil Service Commission records fail to reflect any employment of Miller in the Executive Branch subsequent to his termination with the State Department. It was pointed out that Miller was investigated by the Bureau in 1944 and 1945 under the provisions of the Hatch Act and we specifically mentioned each report in the Hatch Act investigation which has been furnished to the Department of State. We also specifically referred to memoranda dated February 19, 1946, and July 15, 1946, addressed to Frederick B. Lyon of the State Department under the caption "Robert T. Miller, III." Our files also reflect that letters were addressed to the Secretary of State on February 25, 1946, and November 25, 1946, enclosing summaries of the Gregory subjects, including Miller. We did not mention these letters of February 25, 1946, and November 25, 1946, since we felt that it was dangerous to do so. If they had been mentioned, the Tydings Subcommittee would in all probability demand that they be produced and naturally, in addition to referring to Miller, the summaries referred to other subjects of the Gregory case who were not included among the individuals presently being considered by the Tydings Subcommittee. Furthermore, they contain information obtained by the Bureau from highly confidential sources.

ACTION: None. This is for your information.

*This looks OK*

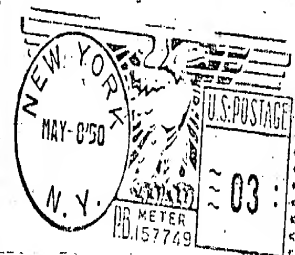
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MAY 19 1950

FILED

Leon C. SILBER  
PAL BLADE CO., INC.  
43 WEST 57th STREET  
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington Col.

Attn: Director J. Edgar Hoover DC

Joseph D. M. Cuddy

EX-107  
197

SENATOR MCCARTHY'S TEMPEST IN A TEAPOT

By Leon D'Argent.

*FID*

For years, the Republican party aims to discredit the Truman Administration and uses every possible means to drag it into dirt and filth.

Now, this time a young politician, Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin, is using the opportunity of creating a big to-do by claiming incompetence of the State Department. The senator insists this Government agency is infiltrated with Communists, fellow-travellers and people sympathizing with the Russians and their cause, spying in this country for the Reds. He seems unaware of the services he is rendering the opponents of our country with these claims. If we are to follow his conclusions, the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt must also have been a Communist, co-operating with the Russians. By his actions he was successful in exterminating the Hitler clique and in winning the war. In politics it is often of greater advantage to keep silence than to speak up.

MORAL: MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

McCarthy obviously was interested in getting in the limelight and in showing his efficiency. He consequently acted according to the principle: The end justifies the means. The public should be interested in learning the sources of McCarthy's information. How much did he pay for it and what promises did he make in return? Maybe his informants are recruited from the ranks of former Russian agents, conspirators against our country, like Whitaker Chambers, Mrs. Gerhard Eisler, etc. People like them enjoy their freedom, are at liberty now, unpunished for their actions. They might act tomorrow again, provided the pay is alright. It's a known fact that most criminals revert to their past crimes. Were honest politicians to serve our country honestly, with no business-like dealings behind the scenes, the world would be free of Al Capones, Joe Fischettis (alias Fischer), etc. and there would be less murders committed.

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94-2770-5  
ENCLOSURE

*Letter  
hand*

121-23278-50

It's also doubtful whether a McCarthy, unprotected by Congressional immunity would dare to stand up against decent public servants and to slander publicly. Politics is often a dirty business.

MORAL: A MAN IS KNOWN BY THE COMPANY HE KEEPS.

There is no use in criticising. To improve things, that's what counts. If there are dishonest characters, ready to betray our country, our beloved country, then the most severe punishment should be meted out to them. If an Alger Hiss is really guilty he should be punished according to law, with a long prison term, followed by deportation to the country of his heels, which seemingly has more to offer him than the U.S.

There is also the case of Miss Coplon, worse than the others. She seems to be a child of Russian parentage, whose ancestors driven from Russia not so long ago, found refuge in the United States, liberty and freedom. MORAL: ONE IS TAUGHT WISDOM BY ADVERSITY.

One thing is certain: We are at war again. This time at war with an enemy more dangerous than Hitler. Hitler stated all his future plans and the conception of his world openly in "Mein Kampf". Stalin, however, is acting behind the mask of an honest man, having nothing else in mind but peace. The war now going on and forced upon us only wears a different label: "Cold War". We are not suffering any casualties right now but it might happen any day. Should we lose this war, then everything will be lost for us and we will have ceased to exist as a free nation. This condition now going on for years, is abnormal, extra-ordinary. War conditions require special conditions and measures to be taken. Consider the fact that we are a democratic country, with laws and regulations. Consider the "Lend-Lease" law which helped our allies to fight Hitler until we were ready to step in with actions of our own. If there is a war on, war laws should govern us and, as long as this war lasts, we are to defend our-

selves. No obvious damage has been done yet but who knows what we may expect

Our sole and biggest enemy for the time being is Communism. The Communist party should be abolished "for the duration" of the present war or at least for such a period until we return to normal conditions. Membership in its party and public speeches and articles favoring its aims should be forbidden; punishment handed out for those who break the law. We all should strive to hinder the existence of a "Fifth column". We should aim to build up a propaganda department which would prevent decent and loyal citizens from being misguided by lies and false promises. For them Russia would never be the promised land. If Russia were the paradise, praised by its agents in this country, we would be permitted to glimpse behind the curtain and to see for ourselves what is going on there. If Russia is paradise then why keep its people forcibly behind its borders, why prevent them from leaving the paradise even for a short while? MORAL: FORESIGHT IS THE MOTHER OF ALL WISDOM.

Finally, the writer has a suggestion to make: In order to remind all American in what golden country we are living, let us sing our National Anthem before the curtain rises in a theatre, before a concert, before every radio music hour and before every television show. I personally would give away all of Europe and Asia for staying in this country. There is nothing better than America. GOD BLESS AMERICA.

Chen C. SILBER  
c/o Pal Blade Co  
43 W 57th St  
NY 22 NY

63987

May 15, 1950

Mr. Leon C. Silber  
c/o Pal Blue Company, Inc.  
43 West 57th Street  
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Silber:

121-23278-170X

Your communication postmarked May 8, 1950, has been received and I wish to express my appreciation for the enclosure thereto.

Should any further information in which this Bureau might be interested come to your attention it is suggested that you may wish to correspond directly with our New York Office, 607 U. S. Court House, Foley Square, New York 7, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

cc New York:

ATTENTION SAC: For your information correspondent enclosed a mimeographed pamphlet entitled "Senator McCarthy's Tempest in a Teapot" by Leon D'Argent.

DDG:mjp

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

MAILED 4  
MAY 15 1950  
COMM - FBI

55 JUN 11 1950

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
F B I  
MAY 15 1950  
MAY 14 1950

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AB*

FROM : C. H. Stanley *OK* *communicate in the*

SUBJECT: CHARGES AGAINST THE STATE DEPARTMENT BY SENATOR McCARTHY

DATE: May 23, 1950

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_

Ladd \_\_\_\_\_

Clegg \_\_\_\_\_

Glavin \_\_\_\_\_

Nichols \_\_\_\_\_

Rosen \_\_\_\_\_

Tracy \_\_\_\_\_

Harbo \_\_\_\_\_

Mohr \_\_\_\_\_

Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

Nease \_\_\_\_\_

Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Reference is made to the memorandum from Mr. Keay to you dated May 16, 1950 concerning Mr. Horan's observation of the State Department files which are to be made available to the Tydings Committee. It is noted Mr. Horan mentioned the files on Gertrude Cameron and Jay Robinson.

RE: JAY ROBINSON

Mr. Horan indicated he noted pencilled notations identifying informants in a Bureau report written by Charles A. May at Washington, D. C. in April 1944. He further advised the file contained two original copies of the report, one photostat and that the photostat did not have any notations on it.

In this connection Bufiles disclose a Loyalty investigation was instituted concerning Robinson on 5-28-48, however the investigation was discontinued and CSC so advised by letter dated 6-11-48 when it was ascertained Robinson resigned from the State Department on 4-16-48. No LGE reports were disseminated. (121-9838)

In regard to the Hatch Act investigation concerning Robinson it is noted the report of SA Charles A. May, dated 4-22-44 at Washington, D. C., was sent to the Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations on 5-11-44. In addition the file shows a copy of the report was also sent to the State Department on 8-25-47 for information purposes. It is noted the original copy of the report by SA May does not contain any pencilled notations identifying the informants and the file does not reflect the Department of State was ever advised of the identity of the informants. (100-69918-10)

RE: GERTRUDE CAMERON

Mr. Horan referred to a copy of a letter from the Bureau to Mr. Seth W. Richardson, dated April 21, 1950, in which one paragraph set forth the identity of a confidential informant (Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr.).

With respect to this observation the letter to Mr. Richardson pointed out that during a Hatch Act investigation concerning Cameron a prominent citizen and personal acquaintance of Mrs. Cameron advised another government agency that the employee "became so wrapped up in Communism" that the informant had to sever their acquaintanceship. The informant also provided information of a disloyal nature regarding employee's husband. The Hatch Act investigation further revealed the informant was reinterviewed by the government agency at which time she modified her previous statements and advised she did not mean "wrapped up in Communism." The informant was ascertained to be Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr., former employer of Mrs. Cameron.

RECORDED - 37

INDEXED - 37

RER:es

53 JUN 27 1950

EX-87

121-23278-121  
 62-39747-1585

6 JUN 24 1950

33

*AB*  
*S*  
*RER*

During the LGE investigation the modified statement by Mrs. Skeel received from the above-mentioned government agency was reported and her name was not concealed. It is also noted Mrs. Skeel did not have any additional information to offer and her identity was not concealed when she was reinterviewed during the LGE investigation. Because Senator McCarthy stated in his case No. 55, later identified as Cameron, that a former employer described her as "wrapped up" in Communism and did not refer to the reinterview with her former employer in which the allegation was modified, it was considered advisable to point out to Mr. Richardson that Mrs. Skeel was the informant or former employer inasmuch as she had been interviewed and plainly identified during the LGE investigation.

Mr. Horan also mentioned that he observed a memorandum in the State Department file on Cameron dated 10-21-48 indicating the FBI did not make as complete an investigation as was possible on Mrs. Cameron's husband. Mr. Horan added there was no indication as to why the investigation on Mrs. Cameron's husband was pertinent in the file.

A review of the LGE investigation reflects the Philadelphia Office submitted a 3 page report devoted principally to the background of the employee's husband. Other reports in the investigation also set forth pertinent information concerning her husband when it applied to the employee. The report from the WFO dated 5-15-48 stated the Cameron's were voluntarily separated because of physical disabilities received by Mr. Cameron during World War II. A review of the file indicates an appropriate investigation was conducted and the Department of State has not requested any supplemental investigations. (121-3702)

ACTION

The above is for your information.

*Bob*

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 24, 1950

FROM : MR. LADD

SUBJECT: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN  
RELATIONS COMMITTEE;  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES  
BUFILE 62-91923

Tolson ☒  
 Ladd ☒  
 Clegg ☐  
 Glavin ☐  
 Nichols ☒  
 Rosen ☐  
 Tracy ☐  
 Harbo ☐  
 Mohr ☐  
 Tele. Room ☐  
 Nease ☐  
 Gandy ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 2/23/83 BY SP6 DAA/MLC

PURPOSE

To answer your inquiry concerning the advisability of formally requesting of Senator Millard Tydings the transcript of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

BACKGROUND

On May 12, 1950, Mr. Ed Morgan, counsel for the Tydings Committee inquired as to whether we had a copy of the transcript of hearings before the committee. When informed that such a transcript had not been made available to us, Mr. Morgan stated that Senator Tydings wanted to be sure that the FBI was being furnished all information in this matter and that he would be glad to make a copy of the transcript available to us. He said that there were only a limited number of copies of the transcript, but that he would make a copy available to us as soon as possible. Informed of Mr. Morgan's offer by memorandum from Mr. A. H. Belmont to Mr. D. M. Ladd, dated May 12, 1950, captioned "Owen Lattimore; Espionage - R," you instructed that "As soon as copy is obtained we should go over it carefully for leads and information."

On May 22, 1950 Mr. Ed Morgan called on another matter, at which time Mr. Belmont took the opportunity to inquire as to whether the transcript was as yet available. Mr. Morgan advised that there was not then an extra copy of the transcript but he would get one as soon as he could. Informed of this call by Mr. Belmont's memorandum to Mr. Ladd dated May 22, 1950, captioned, "Philip Jacob Jaffe, with aliases," you suggested, "Shouldn't we formally request the transcript of Tydings?"

Open sessions of the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have been attended unobtrusively by Agents of the Washington Field Office, who have immediately submitted summaries of pertinent development. Of necessity, these summaries have been incomplete and have not included testimony presented at executive sessions of the committee.

EMG/de  
 62-91923  
 cc: 100-24628 (Lattimore)  
 cc: 100-267360 (Jaffe)

RECORDED - 53

INDEXED - 53

JUN 7 1950

34

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-24628-  
 UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-267360-

JUN 14 1950

EMG

Recognizing that the best record is the transcript itself, on April 24, 1950 a memorandum was sent to Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney, pointing out that the Department might wish to arrange to receive copies of the official transcript of all testimony before the Subcommittee concerning Owen Lattimore. By memorandum dated May 12, 1950, it was again suggested to Mr. McInerney that the Criminal Division might wish to arrange to secure such transcripts and inquiry was made of Mr. McInerney as to whether such material was available.

At 5:15 PM on May 23, 1950, Mr. Raymond Whearty telephonically advised that the Department now has a single copy of the transcript and that although he is required to follow the matter closely and would like to keep the transcript, he would gladly make it available to the Bureau for photostating.

#### RECOMMENDATION

Inasmuch as the transcript of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is now available through the Criminal Division, it is suggested that it be obtained and photostated. Should it prove incomplete or otherwise inadequate for our purposes, it is recommended that a formal request then be made of Senator Tydings for the official transcript.

*yes.*

, 19

TO:

Director

Mr. Tolson

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Harbo

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Tracy

Mr. Q. Tamm

Mr. Mohr

Miss Gandy

Mr. Nease

Mr. Pennington

Mr. Winterrowd

Mr. J. A. Carlson

Mr. Hargett

Mrs. Henley

Miss Jess

Mrs. Davidson

Chief Clerk's Off.

Records Section

Personnel Files

Mechanical Sec.

Ident. Division

Technical Lab.

Reading Room

Mr. Tolson

Mr. Ladd

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Tracy

Mr. Harbo

Mr. Belmont

Mr. Mohr

Tele. Room

Mr. Nease

Miss Gandy

Mr. Belmont

Mr. Laughlin

Mr. Hennrich

M

M

Mr. Baumgardner

Mr. Keay

Mr. Stanley

M

M

Mr. Ferris

Foreign Service Desk

Mr. Callan

See Me

Call Me

Appropriate action

Note & return

Send file

Bring up-to-date

Correct

Re-date

Please initial & return

Place on record & return

Place on record

Per conversation

Advise status

Mr. Tolson

Mr. Tolson

Mr. Ladd

Mr. Ladd

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Tracy

Mr. Tracy

Mr. Harbo

Mr. Harbo

Mr. Belmont

Mr. Belmont

Mr. Mohr

Mr. Mohr

Tele. Room

Tele. Room

Mr. Nease

Mr. Nease

Miss Gandy

Miss Gandy

D. M. Ladd - Rm. 5736

Telephone Ext. 555

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADDRESS ONLY  
"CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION"  
IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO  
FILE LRB:CLC:lp  
AND DATE OF THIS LETTER

May 31, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL -~~  
~~BY SPECIAL MESSENGER~~

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

Sir:

Reference is made to my letter of April 5, 1950 in which I requested certain information be submitted to this office regarding persons appearing on the list mentioned therein and to your letter of April 10, 1950 in reply thereto.

The Loyalty Review Board has decided not to review these cases further at this time, in view of the fact that they are presently the subject of study by the Tydings Subcommittee. Accordingly, please regard my request in letter of April 5, 1950 that information be forwarded directly to this office as withdrawn.

It will be appreciated if any additional information concerning the cases mentioned by Senator McCarthy before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee be forwarded as usual directly to the Investigations Division of the Civil Service Commission.

Very truly yours,

Seth W. Richardson  
Chairman  
Loyalty Review Board

RECORDED - 11600

121-23278-173  
JUN 13 1950  
12

53 JUL 5 1950

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 121-3-1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Room 5744

6-1

1

TO:

☒ Director

Mr. Ladd

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Harbo

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Tracy

Mr. Belmont

Mr. Mohr

Mr. Carlson

Mr. Callahan

Mr. Nease

Miss Gandy

Personnel Files Section

Records Section

Mrs. Skillman

Mr. Tolson

Mr. Ladd

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Tracy

Mr. Harbo

Mr. Belmont

Mr. Mohr

Tele. Room

Mr. Nease

Miss Gandy

See Me

For Appropriate Action

Send File

Note and Return

Clyde Tolson

June 1, 1950

Honorable Millard E. Tydings  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I wish to express my appreciation for the very prompt manner in which you made available the transcript of the testimony through May 26.

I think it is vital for the Bureau to receive a copy of this testimony to insure that any information requiring investigative action may have prompt attention.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
JUN 1 4 31 PM '50  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
JUN 1 3 54 PM '50  
FBI  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

LBN:LH

RECORDED - 114

INDEXED - 114

121-23278-173

11-7587-1665

Tolson  
Ladd  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Tele. Room  
Nease  
Gandy

RECEIVED  
JUN 2 3 53 PM '50  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

JUN 14 1950

MAILED 10  
JUN 1 1950  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

Belmont

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

DATE: June 1, 1950

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FBI SURVEY OF THE SECURITY AND INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION  
OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, APRIL, 1947

Tolson ☒  
Ladd ☒  
Clegg ☒  
Glavin ☒  
Nichols ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Tracy ☒  
Harbo ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Nease ☒  
Gandy ☒

You will recall that in April, 1947 at the request of Mr. Fred B. Lyon, State Department, the Bureau conducted a survey of the then Security and Investigative Division of the State Department in which a complete study was made of certain procedures in the Investigative Division, together with recommendations for certain changes. U

In connection with this survey, Mr. Donald L. Nicholson, Chief, Security Division, State Department, informed Mr. Roach today that Senators Lodge and Green of the Tydings Subcommittee have received knowledge of this survey and have inquired of the State Department of the action they have taken on the recommendations made by the FBI. Mr. Nicholson informed Mr. Roach that a number of the recommendations were placed into effect while some were not. He stated that the Senators want to see the report, together with the State Department's explanation of what they have done by way of conforming with the recommendations. Mr. Nicholson's question is whether the Bureau has any objection to the copy now in the possession of the State Department being shown to the Senators. He advised that the State Department would like to do this if the Bureau had no objections. U

RECOMMENDATION:

It would seem that there would be no objection to the State Department disclosing the recommendation made by the Bureau when compiling the answers that they must give to the Senators, however, there appears to be no valid reason why the State Department should turn over our survey report to Senators Lodge and Green for their perusal. If you concur, Mr. Roach will so inform Mr. Nicholson of the State Department. U

RRR:mk

RECORDED - 36

INDEXED - 36

I think it is

up to the

State Dept

6/2/50

agree. Certainly we have no objection. ABG

H.

-104-  
J  
JUSTICE

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : A. H. Belmont

FROM : C. E. Hennrich

SUBJECT: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE;  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: June 2, 1950

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_

Ladd \_\_\_\_\_

Clegg \_\_\_\_\_

Glavin \_\_\_\_\_

Nichols \_\_\_\_\_

Rosen \_\_\_\_\_

Tracy \_\_\_\_\_

Harbo \_\_\_\_\_

Mohr \_\_\_\_\_

Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

Nease \_\_\_\_\_

Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

PURPOSE:

To advise that the transcript of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which is now available through the Criminal Division is incomplete and inadequate for our purposes and that a formal request for the complete transcript is being made of Senator Tydings.

BACKGROUND:

A memorandum from Mr. D. M. Ladd to the Director dated May 24, 1950, in which it was suggested that inasmuch as the transcript of the testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was available through the Criminal Division, it be obtained and photostated. It was also recommended that should such prove incomplete or otherwise inadequate for our purposes, a formal request then be made of Senator Tydings for the official transcript. To these suggestions the Director indicated his agreement.

At 5:00 P.M. on May 25, 1950, Mr. William E. Foley of the Criminal Division was personally contacted by Special Agent Emory M. Gregg. Mr. Foley advised that as yet the Department has been unable to obtain the complete transcript but did have printed copies of the transcripts of April 20, 1950 and April 25, 1950, which concerned the testimony given by Louis Budenz in both public and executive session. It was noted that the testimony for these two days alone consisted of three bound volumes indicating that the complete transcript will be extremely large.

The transcripts of testimony presented on April 20, 1950 and April 25, 1950, were obtained from Mr. Foley for the purpose of being photostated; however, upon being reviewed they were found to be inadequate for our purposes and were returned to him at 10:00 A.M. on May 26, 1950. By memorandum dated May 23, 1950, Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney advised that the Department had been informed that the proceedings before the Committee are not being printed for approximately one month, at which time the Department would receive a copy of available transcripts.

EMG:mm

RECORDED - 53

INDEXED - 53

JUN 7 1950

24

EMG

Inasmuch as the transcripts obtainable through the Criminal Division are incomplete, Mr. D. M. Ladd has personally requested of Senator Tydings a copy of the official transcript of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

ACTION:

None, the above is for your information. Upon receipt of the transcript, a photostatic copy will be made for transmittal to the Baltimore Office for their information.

ADDENDUM:

On May 29, 1950 twenty volumes of the transcript of testimony before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were received and are currently being reviewed.

June 6, 1950

6:05

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

Mr. Peyton Ford called again regarding the chart prepared by the State Department and stated he had just had a call from Mr. Fisher, the General Counsel at the State Department, who advised that they wanted to say that they have been advised that the Department of Justice did not evaluate this material; that it was evaluated by the State Department. I stated as far as I knew that was absolutely correct but I did not see any necessity for them using our name at all; that obviously they made the chart and in making it they of course must have evaluated the material. I commented that the only danger in making a statement and in mentioning the FBI in it is that we have not yet seen the material from which they made the chart, and though we never reach a conclusion in our reports, we are not infallible and before a statement is issued quoting us we would have to see the reports from which the chart was prepared. Mr. Ford thought it would be a good idea to tell Mr. Fisher that the State Department did the evaluating and that the Justice Department didn't and I agreed. I stated if there was any question of the FBI having evaluated any report then certainly they should bring this to the attention of our liaison section, but I did not feel it was up to us to check into the material that went into the chart as we did not know what went into it. I commented to Mr. Ford that I felt it was up to the State Department to do this checking as they had prepared the chart. I further added that as far as I knew this chart has never been distributed and I did not know why they had prepared it. Mr. Ford commented that he thought Mr. Panuch prepared it.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

G.I.R.

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 3:00
DATE 6-7-50
BY Lew

olson  
add  
legg  
lavin  
nichols  
osen  
racy  
arbo  
phr  
le. Room  
ase  
ndy

cc-Mr. Nease

JEH:EH

121-23278-176  
39777-1583  
RECORDED - 74  
INDEXED - 74  
JUN 8 1950

52 JUN 12 1950

June 6, 1950

5:16 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

Mr. Peyton Ford called and stated he had been talking to the Attorney General regarding the allegation that there were eleven Communists in the State Department and commented that eight were now out of the Department and three remained. Mr. Ford stated he had been requested to find out who these three were. I told Mr. Ford I did not know who they were and I assumed we would have to make inquiry of the State Department. Ford then said he understood that McCarthy said he was not going to give this information to the Committee and it was not exactly clear what he was going to do with it; that he, McCarthy, had commented if anyone should have it he thought the FBI should have it. I then told Ford that of course I could ask Senator McCarthy but I doubted the wisdom of this. I also asked Ford if McCarthy was still referring to the chart and Ford stated he apparently was. U

I thereupon informed Ford that this chart was prepared in the State Department; that they have a chart exactly like McCarthy described and that it was prepared from material received from all branches of the Government including the FBI reports. I stated, however, that though I had not seen this chart it was actually prepared by the State Department which would indicate that McCarthy was getting his information out of that Department because no one else has such a chart in his possession. I also told him that our material, which is included in the chart, is not identified as such and that they cannot tell us what is in the chart that came from the Bureau. Mr. Ford then advised me that McCarthy is stating that for the first time in history the FBI is evaluating evidence and I stated I did not know what he based that on. I further stated that the State Department is prepared to issue a press release that they have received no such document as described by McCarthy from the FBI. I commented that of course we said we could neither approve or disapprove any release; that it was up to them what they say. However, I said as to these three names I could give McCarthy a call and ask him or I could try to secure this information from the State Department. Mr. Ford thought we should try to find out from the State Department and I told him I would check with them. U

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

RECORDED - 38  
INDEXED - 38

JUN 8 1950

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 3:05
DATE 6-7-50
BY [Signature]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

cc-Mr. Nease  
JEH:EH

53 JUN 9 1950

June 6, 1950

4:26 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

Mr. Peyton Ford called to inquire if I knew anything about a  
statement to which Senator Joe McCarthy was referring on The Hill.  
I stated I had heard about this but did not know what McCarthy was  
talking about and I had issued instructions to see if we could get a  
line on it in our files but so far we have found nothing. Mr. Ford  
stated he would like to know if we heard anything about it and I  
told him I would keep him advised.

Very truly yours,

*15/2 P.H.*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

cc-Mr. Nease

JEH:EH

SENT FROM	U. S. O.
TIME	1:25
DATE	6-7-50
BY	<i>Law</i>

RECORDED - 1100

121-23278-178

13

*C/S*

22 JUL 7

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

June 6, 1950

DIRECTOR, FBI

CHARGES OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY CONCERNING  
FBI CHART ON COMMUNISTS ALLEGEDLY GIVEN TO STATE DEPARTMENT

Senator McCarthy, on the Senate floor today, stated in substance that ~~three or four years ago, May 15, 1946 or 1947, the FBI performed a function~~ ~~totally outside of its jurisdiction when it supplied to the State Department,~~ ~~with evaluation, charts and diagrams purportedly showing Soviet agents, Communists~~ ~~and fellow travelers in the State Department.~~ This chart, according to Senator McCarthy, contained 124 names broken down as follows:

20 Communist Agents  
13 Other Communists  
14 Communist Sympathizers  
77 Suspects

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 4-27-78 B9K

After receiving this information, the State Department called the Bureau and stated that they proposed issuing a press release stating, in effect, that they had no knowledge of a chart or diagram having been received from the FBI, as mentioned by Senator McCarthy. They further advised that a check of the Security Office of the State Department reflected that such a chart in the detail mentioned by Senator McCarthy, in fact, had been prepared by the State Department from information received from various sources, some of which data undoubtedly came from the FBI.

In discussing the press release with the Bureau, Mr. Samuel D. Boykin, assistant to Deputy Undersecretary John E. Peurifoy, desired to know if the Bureau approved or disapproved the release. Mr. Boykin was told that the Bureau neither could approve nor disapprove it, and that this was a matter that the State Department must handle in their discretion.

With reference to Senator McCarthy's statement that only three of the one hundred and twenty-four persons mentioned on the chart are presently employed in the State Department, Mr. Donald L. Nicholson, Security Division, State Department, advised that they have been able to identify only one person whose name appears on the chart as still being an employee of the State Department, namely, Clarence J. Nelson, who is employed in the Communications Section. Mr. Nicholson stated that another individual who may be one of the three referred to by Senator McCarthy is D. Zablowdowsky, who although no longer employed in the State Department, was one of those named by Senator McCarthy to the Tydings Committee. Mr. Nicholson advised the Bureau that this is only a possibility. The third individual mentioned cannot be identified by the State Department from their records at this time.

The above information is submitted pursuant to your request.

Mr. Peyton Ford  
Deputy Attorney General  
RRR:tlc

(The above was obtained by Mr. R. R. Roach from Mr. Samuel D. Boykin and Mr. Donald L. Nicholson, of the State Department, 6/6/50.)

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909

ON 4-12-78 DPB/DLC

MAILED 3

JUN 7 1950

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: June 6, 1950

FROM : D. M. LADD *La*

SUBJECT: -

CHARGES OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY CONCERNING  
~~FBI~~ CHART ON COMMUNISTS ALLEGEDLY GIVEN TO  
 STATE DEPARTMENT

Tolson ☒  
 Ladd ☒  
 Clegg ☒  
 Glavin ☒  
 Nichols ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Tracy ☒  
 Harbo ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Nease ☒  
 Gandy ☒

In connection with the speech of Senator McCarthy today, alleging that the FBI performed a function outside of its jurisdiction when it supplied to the State Department, with evaluation, charts and diagrams purportedly showing Soviet agents, Communists, Communist sympathizers and suspects employed in the State Department, a check of Bureau records fails to reflect that such a chart was transmitted to the State Department by the Bureau in May 1946 or 1947. Inquiries by Mr. Roach at the State Department developed that the State Department itself had made up a chart from various sources listing individuals under the exact breakdown given by Senator McCarthy. Mr. Nicholson, of the State Department, advised Mr. Roach that the information from which this chart was compiled by the State Department came from several sources, including the FBI. However, at this time he was unable to advise as to which information came from the FBI.

The attached memorandum to the Attorney General has been prepared, reflecting the information available on this matter.

A check is being made to determine whether the Bureau investigated Clarence J. Nelson or D. Zablowdowsky, and if so, whether copies of reports were given to the State Department.

ADDENDUM:

June 7, 1950

AHB:tlc

Attachment

Our files reflect that Clarence John Nelson, telegrapher of the State Department, was investigated under the Hatch Act in 1942 and under the Loyalty Program in 1949. Copies of reports under the Hatch Act were sent to the State Department, and under the Loyalty Program, to the Civil Service Commission for transmittal to the State Department. On January 19, 1949, a disposition was received from the Loyalty Review Board that Nelson was retained.

We investigated one David Zablowdowsky, who was employed with OSS. This investigation was conducted in 1943 under the Hatch Act. It is not known whether this is the individual referred to by Mr. Nicholson as D. Zablowdowsky.

Mr. Roach is at the State Department this morning, checking this further, and also attempting to get concrete information to

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

to determine on what information the State Department made up its chart and just what information emanated from the FBI. Mr. Roach is endeavoring to ascertain whether the State Department may have used information from the Gregory Summary (forwarded to the State Department in March, 1946) and other information of this nature in drawing up its chart.

*It is very important  
to determine this.*

*Patb ✓*

*H.*

*memo to W  
6/9/50  
C*

~~SECRET~~ - BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

June 9, 1950

RECORDED - 26

DIRECTOR, FBI

121-23278-178X1

INDEXED - 26

CHARGES OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY  
CONCERNING FBI CHART ON COMMUNISTS  
ALLEGEDLY GIVEN TO STATE DEPARTMENT

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909

ON 4/12/78 DPH/DLC

Reference is made to my memorandum of June 6, 1950, captioned as above, wherein you were informed that Senator McCarthy on the Senate floor, June 6, 1950, stated in substance that three or four years ago the FBI supplied to the State Department charts and diagrams purportedly showing pro-Soviet individuals in the State Department.

It has been determined that the material used by Senator McCarthy on June 6, 1950, originated from the State Department in a report prepared by Mr. Samuel Klaus on August 3, 1946; for Mr. Joseph Panuch, a former Deputy to the Assistant Secretary for Administration. The material used concerning the chart the FBI allegedly prepared appears on page twenty-nine, wherein it is stated, "FBI has prepared a chart now in the possession of Mr. Bannerman which purports to show a number of 'agents,' 'Communists,' 'sympathizers' and 'suspects' in the State Department as of May 15, 1947. The tabulation shows, agents - 20, Communists - 13, sympathizers - 14, and suspects - 77."

The report on page thirty sets forth the verbatim text of material which appeared in the press on June 7, 1950, that is, "It turned out that the FBI had produced no convincing proof that any person was an actual agent. In other words, the FBI had made no case to show espionage or a violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act or similar legislation in any case. The word 'agent' was, therefore, being used by the FBI or by CON- to mean simply a suspect in espionage investigation, etc." It was further stated that "No proof of actual Communist Party membership has been produced by the FBI. The word Communist, therefore, was used merely to describe cases of such close affiliations as to lend credence to hypothesis that the person in question was a member —, a fact still to be proven."

The statement by Senator McCarthy that apparently the FBI did not trust the State Department is based on comments in the report of Mr. Klaus, wherein it is stated that the FBI did not freely give information to the Chief Special Agents Office. However, the Bureau furnished pertinent information to another official who had been designated as liaison representative with the FBI. Mr. Samuel S. Boykin, an Assistant to Deputy Undersecretary John E. Pearisoy, advised that he talked to Mr. Klaus and inquired why he had made the definite statement that the FBI had prepared a chart when, in fact, the chart in question was prepared by the State Department. According to Mr. Boykin, Klaus indicated that Mr. Bannerman, formerly head of the Security Division, had informed him, Klaus, that the chart was prepared by

cc - Mr. Peyton Ford

Deputy Attorney General

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF

DATE 4-27-78

MAILED 3

JUN 9 - 1950

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FRW:hke

JUN 9 1950

the FBI. Boykin added that Mr. Bannerman denied the statement attributed to him by Mr. Klaus and indicated Mr. Klaus made a misstatement of facts when he prepared his report. The chart which was prepared by the State Department carries a caption that it was prepared in the Reproduction Branch of the State Department and bears the title, "Top Secret, U.S. Department of State, Preliminary Survey of the Communist Infiltration, Prepared May 15, 1946." On the chart the employees were divided into various groups and categories. Senator McCarthy charged that three persons mentioned, whose names appeared on the chart, were still employed by the State Department. The State Department has been able to identify only two; namely, Clarence Nelson and Serban Vallinarascu. As it was indicated in the memorandum of June 6, 1950, the name of David Zablondowsky, who is no longer employed by the State Department, may or may not be the third person in view of the fact that he was on a list that Senator McCarthy supplied to Senator Tydings.

RECEIVED  
F B I  
DIRECTOR

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE June 7, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*SUBJECT: CHARGES OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY  
CONCERNING FBI CHART ON COMMUNISTS  
ALLEGEDLY GIVEN TO STATE DEPARTMENT  
*Comm. on 7/2*

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

*gm*  
With reference to my memorandum to you of June 6, 1950, Mr. Roach has made a check at the State Department and obtained the following information:

The material used by McCarthy on the floor of the Senate yesterday originated from the State Department in a report prepared by Mr. Samuel Klaus on August 3, 1946. A copy of this report is undoubtedly in the hands of Senator McCarthy as numerous excerpts were used in his speech yesterday. The report is in the form of a survey made by Klaus for Mr. Joseph Panuch, a former Deputy to the Assistant Secretary for Administration. The material used by McCarthy from this report and particularly that dealing with the chart that the FBI allegedly prepared appears on Page 29 (copy of report attached) and reads, "FBI has prepared a chart now in the possession of Mr. Bannerman which purports to show a number of 'agents', 'Communists', 'sympathizers' and 'suspects' in the State Department as of May 15, 1947. The tabulation shows, agents - 20, Communists - 13, sympathizers - 14, and suspects - 77."

The report continues on page 30 (pages 29 and part of 30 were produced by McCarthy on the floor although he continued to read from the report.) and sets forth the verbatim text of material appearing in the press this morning, that is, "It turned out that the FBI had produced no convincing proof that any person was an actual agent. In other words, the FBI had made no case to show espionage or a violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act or similar legislation in any case. The word 'agent' was, therefore, being used by the FBI or by CON-to mean simply a suspect in espionage investigation, and etc."

"No proof of actual Communist Party membership has been produced by the FBI. The word Communist, therefore, was used merely to describe cases of such close affiliations as to lend credence to hypothesis that the person in question was a member —, a fact still to be proven."

The report continues on page 31, "The foregoing cases presumably comprised the total of questionable employees of each security category now in the Department — i.e. questionable in the opinion of the FBI." The statements by Senator McCarthy that the FBI did not trust the State Department has for its basis the comments of Mr. Klaus appearing on page 32 and 33 which states in substance that the FBI did not freely give information to the Chief Special Agents Office when, in fact, we did give it to Mr. Fred B. Lyon's Office.

RFR:eb

Attachment

JUN 20 1950

Letter to AG  
cc - Peyton  
RECORDED - 25  
INDEXED - 26  
121-23278-178x2  
62-57749-1570  
JUN 12 1950  
*RW*

There are attached copies of the prepared speech used by McCarthy yesterday on the floor together with a copy of pages 29 and a portion of page 30 which Senator McCarthy distributed together with his prepared speech.

In view of the fact that Mr. Klaus made the definite statement in his report that the FBI had prepared a chart, Mr. Samuel S. Boykin, assistant to Mr. Peurifoy, informed Mr. Roach he talked to Klaus and asked him why he had made such a statement when, in fact, the chart in question was prepared by the State Department and carried a very bold heading that it was so prepared. Klaus, according to Boykin, alibied out of this by stating that Mr. Bannerman (the head of the Security Division and now with CIA) had told him, Klaus, that the chart was prepared by the FBI. Boykin further informed Mr. Roach that Bannerman denies this and that Klaus simply made a misstatement of facts when he prepared his report.

Mr. Roach observed the chart in question which was prepared by the State Department and it was noted that it very plainly states that it was prepared in the Reproduction Branch of the State Department and carried the title "Top Secret, U. S. Department of State, Preliminary Survey of the Communist Infiltration, Prepared May 15, 1946." The chart is approximately four by six feet in size and is the regular organizational chart of the State Department with various names written on it with lines drawn to the respective division in which the employees were working. The employees were divided into two groups: (1) Soviet Underground Intelligence Connections. (2) Amerasia. There are 4 charts in all, each purporting to be the same but with various and different notations with reference to names appearing thereon. None of the charts appeared to be a finished product but appeared to be work sheets. The employees are broken down into categories of agents, Communists, sympathizers and suspects. Of the agents (20) and Communists (13), the State Department has compiled lists (attached). They have not as yet been able to compile lists on the sympathizers (14) and suspects (77). They are presently working on this.

With reference to the charges that Senator McCarthy made that three persons mentioned in the chart are still on the rolls of the State Department, they, the State Department, have been able to identify only two, namely, Clarence Nelson and Serban Vallimarascu. The name of David Zablowsky may or may not be the third person in view of the fact that he was on a list that McCarthy supplied to Senator Tydings but is not now employed by the State Department.

The State Department is presently checking their files against the names that they have to determine the information used in drawing up the chart. They cannot at this time state whether the information came from the FBI, from their own or other sources.

Mr. Samuel S. Boykin informed Mr. Roach that the State Department desires to issue another press release stating in substance that the State Department has contacted the Bureau and the Bureau has assured them that the Bureau did not prepare such a chart and that the Bureau made <sup>no</sup> evaluation placing the various employees in the categories named. Mr. Boykin wanted to know if the Bureau had any objections to this statement. In this regard it is believed that the Bureau should not make any comments, one way or the other, and we should refer such inquiries to the Assistant to the Attorney General Peyton Ford who informed the State Department yesterday that the Bureau did not submit such a chart to the State Department. If you concur Mr. Boykin will be so informed.

The State Department has asked that the attached report prepared by Klaus entitled Survey of the Departmental Personnel Security Investigations be returned to them after we have finished with it.

make copy of it.

Nicholson, State Dept. advised  
in absence Boykin 6/8/50

W.H.

Send substance of this memo

D.A.G.

*the +*  
*mag, 15, 1946*

AGENTS:

1. Borah, Woodrow W (ARI)
2. Dunaway, Philip (ORI)
3. Eastman, C. (FLC)
4. Greenberg, Michael (ESP)
5. Helpern, Maurice (ARI)
6. Hilmer, Lucien (ESP)
7. Hiss, Alger (PA)
8. Keeney, Mary Jane (ESP)
9. Levitan, David, (ESP)
10. ✓ Lewis, James (PD)
11. Miller, Robert (RP)
12. Nertman, P. Bernard (ESP)
13. Rogers, Marvin (ARI)
14. Scott, Helen (INP)
15. Smith, H. Bowen (ESP)
16. Soraco, Theresa (ARI)
17. Tobias, M (FLC)
- ✓ 18. Vallimarascu, Serban (EAI)
19. Wheeler, Donald (EAI)
20. Wood, Minter (OIC)

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~~6-7-47~~

1946

COMMUNISTS:

1. Chaiken, William (OCD)
2. Drosdeff, L. (MI)
3. Elchibegoff, Ivan (ESP)
4. Hawes, Bess (OIC - NY)
5. Kinkead, Robin (OIC) San Francisco
6. Lowenberg, R. (IC - San Francisco)
7. Marxani, Carl (PN)
8. Nelson, Clarence (DC)
9. Robinson, Jay (ESP)
10. ~~Taylor, Joanne (PN)~~ Root Horikawa
11. Vucinich, Alexander (EAI)
12. Wilhelm, M. (PL)
13. Zablodowsky, David (PN)

Taylor, Joanne

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

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As the Senate will recall nearly four months ago, I gave it a brief resume of what was in the files on some 81 individuals. At that time I carefully explained to the Senate that there would be no way for me to reproduce for it on any of those individuals all of the material contained in the files. I explained, as the Senate knows, that those files have been worked up over a period of years by thousands of trained investigators at a cost of millions of dollars to the American people.

At the time I made that talk one of the Senators suggested that I should not give the Senate this information unless and until I could individually produce all of the proof in the files. With this I disagreed. I felt that knowing the extremely dangerous nature of the material in the files, I had a duty to bring this information to the attention of the Senate.

No man could at this time duplicate and bring together all of the vast amount of information painstakingly gathered by the F.B.I., the C.I.A., Army Intelligence, Navy Intelligence, etc. Therefore, I was faced with the choice of giving the Senate the information in the files, knowing that it would be difficult beyond words to prove the charges unless the President would cooperate with the Congress and make available to it all of the necessary files.

Since that time, the Administration, with the benefit of its entire paid press staff, has concentrated on trying to convince the American people that unless I, without the benefit of the files, can prove the charges which were based almost solely upon those files that then there are no disloyal people in government.

I have some information today of a nature which I think should be of considerable interest to the Senate. It is based upon State Department files. It is information which has never been brought to the Senate or to the American people.

We find that about 3 or 4 years ago, I say 3 or 4 because the file refers to the date of May 15, 1947 -- however, my information indicates that this may be a typographical error and should be May 15, 1946 -- however, for the time being we will refer to it as 1947 -- we find on that date the F.B.I. performed a function which as far as I know they have never performed since. Apparently becoming disturbed

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by the situation in the State Department, the Bureau sent over to the State Department on that date a detailed chart listing what they considered as Soviet agents, communists, communist sympathizers, and suspects. As far as I know this is the only time that the F.B.I. has attempted to evaluate the material gathered by it; otherwise, it has been as you know merely a fact finding body, submitting the proof to the Attorney General or to whoever else required it.

The submission of the list of Soviet agents, communists, etc., to the State Department by the F.B.I. met with such little favorable activity on the part of the State Department that as far as I know the Bureau has never submitted a like chart since that date.

I have photostated page 29 and part of page 30 of the report, which shed some light on this chart. It shows for example on May 15, 1947, there were in the State Department a total of 124 agents, communists, sympathizers, and suspects, in the opinion of the F.B.I. During the two months period between the time that chart was submitted by the F. B. I. and the time this report was made, only 18 of these individuals were gotten rid of, leaving in the State Department 106 whom the F. B. I. had named.

You will note that at the time this report was made there were on the payroll of the State Department, according to the F. B. I.'s evaluation of the information in its own files, 11 agents, 10 communists, 11 sympathizers, and 74 suspects, making a total of 106. Normally it could be assumed that the least that the State Department would have done when they were notified by the F. B. I. on May 15, 1947, that the State Department had on its payroll 20 communist agents, that the least it would have done would be to suspend all of those men, pending a complete and thorough investigation. Certainly there was no reason ~~why~~ 106 of the 124 named by the F. B. I should be found on the State Department's payroll two months later.

With that lack of interest on the part of the State Department it is understandable why the F. B. I. became disgusted with the Department. Incidentally, this report also shows that the F. B. I. did not furnish all of its information in regard to suspected individuals to the Department, apparently not trusting the State Department to that extent, which is certainly understandable when they found the Department failed to discharge communist agents named by the Bureau.

It should be mentioned that the report points out that the F. B. I. did not produce for the benefit of the State Department legal cases of espionage covering those listed as agents. It also points out that no proof of actual communist party membership was produced by the Bureau on those listed as communists. It was a case of the Bureau evaluating the information which it had obtained and deciding they were communists, agents, etc.

At least 3 of those listed as communist agents by the F. B. I. three years ago are still holding high positions in the State Department. For any one who says McCarthy must give the proof that those men are communist agents, let me tell you now that will be impossible for me individually to do. I am willing to rely upon the evaluation made of those individuals by the F. B. I. When the Bureau sends a chart to the State Department saying these men are agents of the communist party, I am satisfied that they unquestionably either are agents or so close to the category of agents, that under no circumstances should they be retained in the Department.

The Senate will note that the number listed by the F. B. I. as agents, communists, suspects, etc., and retained by the State Department was 106. The Senate will also recall that I first gave the committee 81 names and later on an additional 25, making a total of 106. I want to make it clear, however, that the fact the State Department retained 106 named by the F. B. I. and the fact that I gave the committee a list of 106 is merely a coincidence. The 106 names on the F. B. I. list are not identical to the 106 names which I gave to the committee. The 3 mentioned whom the F. B. I. labeled as communist agents and who are still in the State Department are, of course, on the Bureau's list and on my list.

Let me make it clear when I point out that 3 of the individuals listed as agents by the F. B. I. are still working in the State Department - that this means a minimum of 3. It will be impossible for me to give you the total number at this time. You will note that I am not discussing the number listed by the F. B. I. as communists, sympathizers and suspects who are still working in the Department. I hope to be able to give the

Senate a complete picture of how many of the total of 106 agents, Communist sympathizers, etc., are still on the State Department's payroll and in what, if any, branch of the government those who were permitted to resign are still working.

The names of those 3 whom the Bureau said were agents on May 15, 1947 and are still in the Department, are available to the Senate or to the committee. Those names are included among the 106 names that I gave to the committee.

If the committee desires more specific information as to those 3 agents it may have it. However, I think it would be reasonable to insist that the committee subpoena and obtain the F.B.I. chart mentioned in this report and then investigate not merely the 3 that I have been able to run down, but the entire 106 the Department insisted on retaining and also find out where the 18 who were allowed to resign are now employed.

And keep in mind, those men listed as Communist agents were listed as such by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The proof was not dug up by McCarthy. The proof was dug up by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

And in my book when the Federal Bureau of Investigation says these men are Communist agents -- when the F.B.I. sends over a formal report to the State Department saying we have the evidence; those man are Soviet agents of Communist Russia, that to me is proof. In my book that is proof despite all the screaming and squealing of those who say, "McCarthy you should not expose them because you are injuring those poor people; you are smearing them."

98681

~~SECRET~~

is considerable doubt whether the report was really derogatory on a security basis.

While this does not apply to Departmental personnel, the fact should be noted as demonstrating a further reliance upon FBI by the Department. Presumably, this check is made by FBI as a matter of accommodation, not of duty. No control is exercised by the Department over the investigation.

(e) It is important to note that the Department is entirely and practically exclusively dependent on FBI for the type of information which comes from surveillance, wide coverage, and the use of unusual methods of interrogation and investigation. CSA appears to have neither the experience nor the facilities to do that type of work and it is apparently not used by any one in that type of work. FBI is the sole repository of such information, therefore, as the identity of Communist Party members, of sympathizers and fellow travelers, of espionage cases, and of undisclosed foreign agents.

(d) FBI has prepared a chart, now in the possession of [name blanked out] which purports to show a number of "agents", "Communists", "sympathizers", and "suspects" in the State Department as of May 15, 1947. The tabulation shows

Agents-----	20
Communists-----	13
Sympathizers-----	14
Suspects-----	77

-30-

~~SECRET~~

[words blanked out] states that by July 12 (the date of my interview), the number had been reduced to the following:

Agents-----	11
Communists-----	10
Sympathizers-----	11
Suspects - about --	74

Since a considerable number of the persons so characterized came with the interim agencies, such as FEA, OWI, and OSS, continued reduction in force might dispose of more of these.

121-23278-178X2

AVR:ELMER

Honorable Millard E. Tydings  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

4.B.±

Dear Senator Tydings:

This is in reply to your letter of March , 1950, in which you have asked for the production before your Subcommittee of the investigative files relating to those Government employees who are or have been employed in the Department of State and against whom charges of disloyal have been made before your Subcommittee by Senator McCarthy. The question raised by your request is a question of grave concern, and I have given very careful consideration to the response contained herein.

In March of 1948 I issued a directive to all officers and employees in the executive branch of the Government directing that all reports, records, and files relating to the Employee Loyalty Program be kept in strict confidence, even in instances where subpoenas were received. As you know, this decision was clearly within my power to make, and I made it only after the most careful consideration and after I had satisfied myself beyond any doubt that any other decision would have resulted in the collapse of the Loyalty Program itself and would have rendered it a vain and useless gesture. At that time I issued a release in which I pointed out the long standing precedents regarding the production of confidential files and the reasons for my decision. I referred, among other things, to a letter from former Attorney General Robert H. Jackson, dated April 30, 1941, to the Chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, declining to furnish that Committee with certain reports of the Federal

60 JUL 6 1950

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Bureau of Investigation, which letter was written with the approval and at the direction of President Roosevelt. That letter forcefully pointed out the serious consequences that would have resulted from compliance with the request of the House Naval Affairs Committee. Among other things, Attorney General Jackson stated:

Moreover, disclosure of the reports would be of serious prejudice to the future usefulness of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As you probably know, much of this information is given in confidence and can only be obtained upon pledge not to disclose its sources. A disclosure of the sources would embarrass informants--sometimes in their employment, sometimes in their social relations, and in extreme cases might even endanger their lives. We regard the keeping of faith with confidential informants as an indispensable condition of future efficiency.

Disclosure of information contained in the reports might also be the gravest kind of injustice to innocent individuals. Investigative reports include leads and suspicions, and sometimes even the statements of malicious or misinformed people. Even though later and more complete reports exonerate the individuals, the use of particular or selected reports might constitute the gravest injustice, and we all know that a correction never catches up with an accusation.

These three elements--the serious prejudice to the effectiveness of the Federal Bureau of Investigation as an investigative agency, the resulting embarrassment and danger to confidential informants, and injustice and unfairness to innocent individuals--led me to the inescapable conclusion that the single most important element in an effective and at the same time just and fair loyalty program was the preservation of all files in connection therewith in the strictest confidence. I cannot overemphasize this point.

During the last month I have been reexamining with utmost care this entire problem, and in this connection, I have asked the Attorney General, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Mr. Seth Richardson,

Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, to give their careful consideration to this matter. They have unanimously advised me that disclosure of loyalty files would be contrary to the public interest and would do much more harm than good. The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in a report to the Attorney General has outlined the very serious consequences that would result from any such disclosures. The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation stated:

1. The public disclosure of FBI reports will reveal investigative procedures and techniques. If publicized, criminals, foreign agents, subversives, and others would thus be forewarned and seek ways and means to carry out their activities, thus avoiding detection and hampering the efficiency of an investigative agency. The underground operations of criminals and subversives already are most difficult of detection and I do not believe the security of the nation would be furthered by applying any additional shackles to the FBI.
2. For the past 25 years, the FBI has represented to the American public that the FBI would maintain their confidences. To make public FBI reports would be to break confidences and persons interviewed in the future might be even more reluctant to furnish information. In recent months, on numerous occasions, some citizens, shirking their responsibility, have refused to furnish information on the grounds that it might be misused and have gone so far as to decline to furnish information, even in applicant investigations, claiming they would do so only if forced by a subpoena.
3. A public disclosure of FBI reports would reveal the identity of sources of information and in some cases at least, would place in jeopardy the lives of confidential sources of information.
4. Disclosure of information contained in FBI reports might result in an injustice to innocent individuals, who find themselves entwined in a web of suspicious circumstances, which can be explained only by further investigation, and disclosures might be made under circumstances which would deny the aggrieved to publicly state their positions.

5. A public disclosure could warn persons whose names appear in FBI reports of the investigation and serve as an effective means of enabling them to avoid detection, to approach witnesses, to bring about the destruction of evidence, or permit them to flee the country.
6. Public disclosure of FBI reports could contribute to blackmail of persons investigated or could result in degrading persons who have made a mistake or fallen prey to false propaganda.
7. Disclosure might reveal highly restricted information vital to the national security and of considerable value to a foreign power.
8. FBI reports set forth full details secured from a witness and if disclosed could be subject to misinterpretation, quoting out of context, or used to thwart truth, distort half truths, and misrepresent facts.

It is my desire, however, that any charges of disloyalty made before your Subcommittee with respect to any individual be given the most thorough and complete investigation, and it is my purpose to cooperate with your Sub-committee to the greatest extent possible, bearing in mind at all times my responsibility to take care that the investigative activities and efficiency of the Federal Bureau of Investigation remain unimpaired, that innocent people--both those under investigation and those who have provided information--not be unnecessarily prejudiced, and that the effectiveness of the Employee Loyalty Program as a whole not be interfered with. I have, therefore, asked Mr. Seth Richardson, Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, to have the Board arrange for a complete and detailed review as soon as possible of all cases in which charges of disloyalty have been made before your Sub-committee (including a re-examination of such cases heretofore reviewed by the Board), and have asked him to give me a full and complete report in each case after review. This review will include all reports

of loyalty investigations made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and files of the State Department and the Civil Service Commission relating to these cases, as well as all other evidence of disloyalty made available to the Loyalty Review Board, including, of course, any evidence produced before your Sub-committee.

For your information, I am attaching hereto a list of the members of the Loyalty Review Board.

Sincerely yours,

Harry S. Truman

COPY: DLW

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

SUBJECT: SETH RICHARDSON  
LOYALTY HEARING BOARD  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: June 6, 1950

On May 24, 1950, DON SURINE, former FBI Special Agent and currently employed as an investigator on the staff of United States Senator McCARTHY, furnished the original of the enclosed communication pertaining to captioned subject, which was recently received by Senator McCARTHY.

Enclosed herewith are three photostatic copies of this communication which is self-explanatory. The original of this document has been returned to SURINE.

In furnishing this document, SURINE requested that Senator McCARTHY and he be fully protected in the event investigation is initiated or re-opened on the basis of this communication.

These enclosures are submitted for the information of the Bureau and no investigation is contemplated by this office on the basis of this document unless the Bureau advises to the contrary.

Enclosures (3)

cc: WFO 100-20548

121-0  
FJD:BGS

121-13278  
NOT RECORDED  
82 JUN 27 1950

Dear Congressman:

Tell Senator McCarthy to subpoena a certain letter sent to Seth Richardson, Chairman, President's Loyalty Board about five or six weeks ago by the Protestant War Veterans Organization there in Washington, D. C., but which is being suppressed by the Attorney General. It names names and unmasks for the first time the super spy organization that has its agents in every department of this government in the halls of Congress, where ever you, Clare, are being spied upon from every angle.

This private gestapo, with over sixty thousand paid and unpaid agents and whose budget for the last six months of 1949 exceeded 6 million dollars was named in this dynamic letter with the THREAT that unless the Department of Justice took the proper action, they, the Protestant Veterans would take the necessary action and go into open court and THERE PROVE their charges and this letter is suppressed by this so-called "Loyalty Board".

You just think that over

While I cannot sign my name, you know me well for I am a well-known newspaperman, who is preparing a series of articles on this stinking setup.

If Seth Richardson denies he has this letter, then ask the Attorney General for it was too damn hot for Richardson, but it is made to order for McCarthy.

An American

121-23278

ENCLOSURE

~~121-3-202~~

FROM .

DO-7

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO  
OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

See Me \_\_\_\_\_ ( )  
Note and Return \_\_\_\_\_ ( )  
For Your Recommendation \_\_\_\_\_ ( )  
What are the facts? \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

Remarks:

*K/Ky -*

*Stanley -*  
*W. J. [unclear]*

RECORDED - Mr.

INDEXED - Mr.

121-23298180

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

58 JUL 1 01950

ENCLOSURE 

121-23278-180

## Stewart Alsop

### The Artful Dodger

WASHINGTON  
TRUTH IS OFTEN COMPLEX. An untruth, on the other hand, can be made easy to understand, and can be tailored to fit the headlines. This is one of the major secrets of the technique of the artful dodger, Sen. Joe McCarthy.

Consider his latest thunderbolt hurled at the State Department. McCarthy produces a photostat, which includes a "chart" of subversives in the State Department, ostensibly provided for the department by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1946.



Ives

Twenty "Russian agents," as well as large numbers of other subversives, are named in the chart. McCarthy asserts—and no one denies it—that at least three of these "Russian agents" are still employed in the State Department.

McCarthy waves his photostats and shouts that if the FBI says so, "that to me is proof . . . despite all the screaming and yelling."

Heads are shaken. Even some of McCarthy's "more sensible colleagues, like Sen. Irving Ives, are impressed. And although it can be demonstrated that this is just another dollop of McCarthy's poisonous nonsense, it is hopeless to expect this fact to catch up with the original distortion.

The photostats McCarthy waved on the Senate floor consisted of about a page and a half of a report of more than 100 pages prepared within the State Department in 1946.

★ ★ ★

THE HISTORY OF this report is interesting. It was prepared on orders of Joseph P. Panuch, then in charge of the State Department's security branch, by one of Panuch's assistants, Samuel Klaus. Panuch ordered this over-all report for a simple reason—the whole State Department security setup was in a frightful mess.

Security agents had been recruited helter-skelter, with little regard for ability or experience. Thus, the security branch was staffed with a gaggle of amateur Hawkshaws. They spent their time spying on each other and on high officials whom they happened to dislike.

Three of these Hawkshaws were particularly incompetent, and particularly eager to make a name for themselves. These three put their heads together and produced the chart of which McCarthy is now the proud possessor. They dredged up the names of 124 State Department employees, and on the basis of the kind of tittle-tattle and poison-pen venom which always comes into the possession of any security agency, they divided these names arbitrarily into four categories—"Russian agent," "Communist," "sympathizer" and "subversive."

When Klaus was gathering material for his report, he came upon this chart. He asked the men who had prepared it where they got it; and, perhaps because they regretted their over-eagerness, he was assured that it had been provided by the FBI.



Hoover

In good faith, Klaus included this statement in his report to Panuch. He also included in his report some pretty scathing criticism of the FBI, which presumably sprang from his belief that the FBI had been responsible for this fantastically amateurish "evaluation."

The FBI had nothing to do with the chart, which was strictly the brain-child of the eager beavers in the State Department.

If this were not the case, McCarthy's revelation would be highly embarrassing to the FBI's J. Edgar Hoover, whom McCarthy professes to admire intensely. Hoover has repeatedly stated that the FBI never evaluates information.

The chart did contain the names of some genuine security risks, who were subsequently discharged or allowed to resign. Many of the others were found, after exhaustive investigation, to be entirely innocent.

★ ★ ★

AS FOR THE THREE amateur Hawkshaws, all three were soon eased out of the security branch. It is an interesting footnote to the whole affair that it was these three who prepared the "derogatory" report on their own superior, Panuch, after tapping Panuch's telephone wires. This report explains why, in McCarthy's original list of 81 Communists, Panuch figures as a hero in Case No. 14 (for firing suspected homosexuals) and as a potential subversive in Case 41.

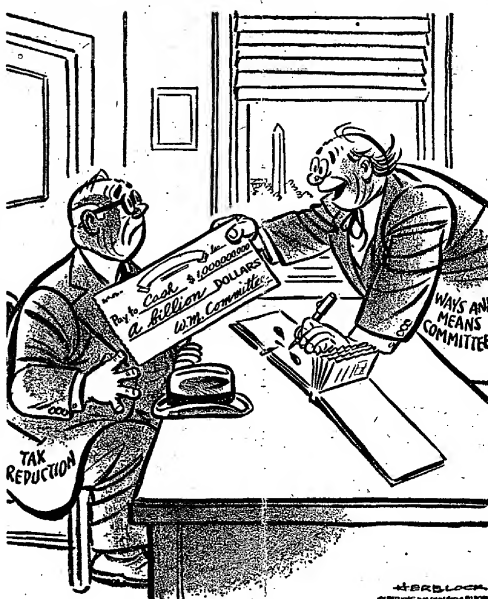
That is the real story of McCarthy's thunderbolt. The trouble is that the story is a trifle complicated and cannot be crowded into headlines.

The fact that the FBI had nothing to do with the chart, a fact which McCarthy himself could easily have ascertained by the simple expedient of a telephone call, is lost in the shuffle.

And the further fact that McCarthy's whole case therefore crumbles into just so much more poisonous nonsense is lost also. So this must be considered another round for McCarthy.

Yet others have tried the game of playing the American people for boobs before, and failed in the end. There are now, at last, beginning to be signs that this will happen again.

"Of Course You Know the Account Isn't in My Name"



## Eleanor Roosevelt

### Norway's F.D.R. Statue Is Tribute to U.S.

OSLO, NORWAY

THE CROWD waiting for the king and the royal party to arrive for the ceremonies of unveiling the monument to Franklin D. Roosevelt was large and enthusiastic. As I stood listening to our national anthem, I realized anew what a beautiful site has been chosen for this statue. It stands over the quayside looking down the fjord. The speeches were fine and warm and I think there was a full realization by all the people present that this statue symbolizes their gratitude not to one man alone, but to the people of the United States of America, to President Truman and Congress. And to the ideals for which they stand—continuing to give cooperation and support to attain peace and justice which men in the United States military services fought for during the late war, side by side with their allies.



Mrs. Roosevelt

On Tuesday morning we did some sight-seeing while Elliot and the children did a little shopping for me as well as for themselves, choosing some distinctive Norwegian handicraft work as souvenirs.

I have been sent a very beautiful book by Mr. Halfdan Arenberg on the Norwegian folkcraft which I am delighted to have. Also a book on cooperatives in Norway by O. B. Grimley which I am sure will be a valuable background for understanding the economy of this nation.

The sight-seeing was extremely interesting. We saw the old Viking ships which were found buried in clay and remarkably well preserved. One with beautifully carved bow and stern was evidently used by a queen. In those days the custom was apparently to build a kind of house behind the mast and bury the dead king or queen, surrounded by the royal household possessions, in the ship. When you look at these open ships and their oars you wonder how they ever reached Greenland and the coast of North America. You wonder, in fact, how these men built such strong and beautiful ships with the few tools they had at that time.

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WE SAW also a church which has recently been renovated after being closed for a year and a half. This is now the cathedral. The carvings on the altar and the pulpit and around the organ are of the somewhat baroque period but extremely interesting and beautiful. The modern frescoed ceiling, the modern glass, and the great bronze doors are very fine. There is an old stone embedded at the right side of the door which is very ancient carving, and much of the stone used in building the church came from the old church which dated back a great many hundreds of years.

This is the celebration of the 900th year since the founding of the city of Oslo, and so they have an exhibit of the shipping which has existed in the city from the earliest days. It is interesting to see the models of the Viking ships, the old sailing ships and the gradual change to the ships of today, with their modern machinery and equipment.

Half of the Norwegian merchant marine was destroyed in the last war, but they are back again in their place as the third largest merchant marine force in the world. Six thousand of their sailors died in the war. Today there is a lack of personnel in the service, so they are trying to encourage young people to enter the navy. And indeed it is a very worthwhile career. In many parts of the world they maintain homes for Norwegian sailors.

## Irving Pflaum

### McCarthy and the Smear

THE "PHONEY LIBERAL PRESS" is, according to Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wis.), "smearing" him. The dictionary defines "smear," in the sense McCarthy means as "to befoul, obscure, obliterate and defame."

My objective today is the opposite. I wish to clarify the senator's Friday speech in Milwaukee.

McCarthy blamed Sec. of State Dean Acheson for our \$90 million loan to Poland in April, 1946. Appealing, I judge, to Mid-western Polish-Americans, McCarthy charged:

It was Acheson who placed the guns, the whips, the blacksnakes and the clubs in the hands of those Communists. It was Mr. Acheson who furnished them with bullets to keep a Christian population under Soviet discipline . . . who helped put uniforms on the masters of prostrate Poland."

For \$50 million of our 1946 loan, McCarthy explained, had been made available for Poland to buy surplus U.S. war property abroad. The other \$40 million was for the specific purchase of locomotives and coal cars, to move Poland's surplus coal to other countries then terribly in need of it.

In return for this loan, Poland's 1946 coalition government pledged "free and unfettered elections" which, if held, were expected to reduce Communist influence. Elections were held, but the Communists gradually dominated the country anyway.

So Acheson, then Undersecretary of State, can reasonably be charged with exchanging cash for useless promises. James Byrnes, then Secretary of State, and President Truman shared the mistake. But do the facts justify McCarthy's charge that "Acheson placed guns; etc., in the hands of (Poland's) Communists"?

They do not. McCarthy's words constitute the kind of "smear" that McCarthy claims is directed at him.

For Soviet Russia was in 1946, as she is today, quite capable of arming Poland's Communists without our assistance. The loan which Acheson approved was intended to reduce Soviet-Communist power in Poland, not to extend it.

★ ★ ★

TO ACCUSE A MAN OF doing the opposite of what he intended is to "befoul, obscure, obliterate and defame."

McCarthy might have said that in 1946 Acheson had been mistaken, and was deceived. But McCarthy used typical Communist-Fascist smear tactics.

Fascists and Communists always whine that they are victims of the methods they regularly employ against others. So, apparently, does Sen. McCarthy.

## John Dreiske

### Postcard Electioneering

IF YOU HAVE THE IDEA that Municipal Judge John Gutknecht is not campaigning actively as the Democratic nominee for probate judge in Cook County just because he is on a European tour, dismiss the thought.

The judge is continually postcarding precinct captains back home in Cook, and it's all according to plan. From Rome, the captains who are of Italian extraction or operate in Italian-American population centers hear from the judge.

From Israel, the cards go winging to the captains of the Jewish faith. And so it goes. It would be hard to find a spot on or near the continent where some Chicago race group would not have a homland tie. And the judge knows his Chicago.



Gutknecht

THE COOK COUNTY PROGRESSIVES will meet to nominate candidates on June 19. Shortly thereafter they will launch a drive for the necessary 115,000 signatures on petitions for a place on the ballot for county offices.

Normally, the job of judging whether the petitions are acceptable is up to an electoral board composed of the state's attorney, county clerk and county judge. But County Judge Edmund K. Jarecki and Clerk Richard J. Daley are candidates for re-election and so the law says they cannot serve. They must give way to the two senior Circuit Court Judges.

From the Progressive point of view, this doesn't afford any great relief. The two judges would also be Democrats. The oldest Circuit judge in point of service is Democrat Kickham Scanlon. Tied for second in seniority are Harry Fisher and Thomas J. Lynch. Fisher has served on electoral boards before.

★ ★ ★

IMPORTANCE OF THIS party affiliation, of course, has to do with the general belief among politicians that Democrats would rather the Progressives were not on the ballot and that Republicans would rather they were. Presumably the citizen who would vote for a Progressive candidate would be inclined to vote Democratic if he had no other place to go on the ballot.

The Director

May 15, 1950

Mr. D. M. Ladd

EXECUTIVE BRANCH, U. S. GOVERNMENT  
(Names identified by Senator McCarthy)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

PURPOSE:

To recommend that the attached memorandum concerning the individuals identified by Senator McCarthy before the Tydings Subcommittee be forwarded to Mr. Peyton Ford pursuant to his request to be advised regarding the dissemination of information in the Bureau's files and the results of investigations regarding these persons to the Department of State.

BACKGROUND:

You will recall that in my memorandum of May 9, 1950, which is attached, I pointed out that Clive Palmer had called at my office on the evening of May 9, 1950, and left a memorandum listing the names of the 81 individuals named in the subpoena of the Senate Subcommittee. Mr. Palmer advised that Peyton Ford had been in conference all afternoon with Senator Tydings; that Senator Tydings insists that he wants a letter signed by the Attorney General listing the dates of reports on loyalty cases sent to the Civil Service Commission, as well as information on the individuals who were the subjects of preliminary inquiry loyalty investigations, but which were discontinued upon receipt of information that the employees had left the government service. Palmer further indicated Tydings also desired any cases where no investigation was conducted because no derogatory information was available be listed. According to Palmer, Senator Tydings suggested that a cutoff date of February 20, 1950, be set and that nothing be listed thereafter. Palmer was advised by me that the Bureau would not prepare any such list until we received a memorandum from the Department in writing listing exactly what it was that the Department wanted. It was also suggested that the Bureau not use a cutoff date, but include everything up to the present time. You noted on my memorandum, "I concur

The attached memorandum dated May 10, 1950, from Peyton Ford requests the following specific information concerning the names included on the "subpoena" list received from the Senate Subcommittee: The Attorney General wishes to prepare a letter to Senator Tydings listing first those individuals in the group on whom loyalty investigations were conducted, attaching copies of the Bureau's transmittal letters or memoranda to the Civil Service Commission; further, in cases where a loyalty investigation was never instituted because of the absence of derogatory information in the Bureau's files or because it was learned prior to the institution of the investigation that the individual had left the service, or where investigations were instituted but later discontinued because the individuals left the service, information is desired regarding what transpired in this respect. Peyton

Attachment

CHS:NRJ:man

JUN 30 1950

Original cannot be located and is not on record. When original is received in Files Division it will be filed either with this copy or may be given a new serial.

6/9/50 678

121-23278-181

JUN 30 1950

Ford further pointed out that there may have been, with regard to some of these individuals, memoranda forwarded to the State Department prior to, during, or following the loyalty investigation, or in cases in which no loyalty investigation has been made. He stated it is desired that the Bureau make appropriate identifying reference to any such memoranda. Peyton Ford, as indicated above, stated it is not necessary to include any material submitted subsequent to February 20, 1950.

All references in the Bureau's files have been reviewed concerning the names set forth on the "subpoena" list furnished by Clive Palmer, together with other individuals who have been identified by Senator McCarthy, and the information requested by the Department has been set forth in the attached memorandum dated May 15, 1950, to Mr. Peyton Ford.

You will observe that the material being furnished to the Department is divided into Parts I, II, and III. Part I pertains to the individuals identified on the "subpoena" list. In Part II, there is furnished for the Department's information material relating to additional individuals not identified on the "subpoena" list, but who were identified previously by Seth W. Richardson in a letter to the Bureau dated April 5, 1950. Part III consists of photostatic copies of transmittal letters requested by the Department.

In connection with the review of our files, in addition to reports and memoranda specifically relating to the individuals identified on the subpoena list, it was found that collateral references to these individuals were located in other reports and communications transmitted to the Department of State in some instances. As a general rule, these incidental references have not been included in the memorandum to the Department. In this same connection, you will recall that in the past confidential memoranda have been supplied to the Department of State in connection with the Gregory case, as well as investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees. In these memoranda in many instances, numerous individuals were involved and information from highly confidential sources was included. In such memoranda, where one of the persons named by McCarthy is mentioned collaterally, we have not listed the Gregory summary or the summary on the underground Communist activities of government employees, since it is felt that to do so would undoubtedly cause the Subcommittee to request copies of the confidential memoranda which at the time were not specifically given to the State Department regarding the individuals concerned with this request.

The review of the references on the individuals in question also revealed in various instances oral information had been furnished to the Department of State. This oral dissemination of information has been noted in the memorandum to Peyton Ford inasmuch as it may have been made a matter of record in the files of the State Department. For us to delete such information might create an erroneous impression that the Bureau is withholding material.

#### ACTION

That the attached memorandum be forwarded to Mr. Peyton Ford.

3012

June 6, 1950

5:38 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

I called Peyton Ford and told him the State Department had identified one of the three persons previously mentioned; that of course this was speculation but they believed he was Clarence J. Nelson. I stated I had not heard of him; that he was a teletype operator and is on the rolls of the State Department at the present time. I also informed Mr. Ford that it was possible that the second individual could be David Zablowdowsky who is no longer on the rolls of the State Department. I further advised that they had no idea who the third individual was and that this was the best information they had at the present time. However, I stated the State Department does admit there is a chart of the character McCarthy is talking about.

Very truly yours,

Director noted on the original:  
"What do our files show on  
Nelson and Zablowdowsky."  
H.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

cc-Mr. Nease

JEH:EH

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SENT FROM D. O.  
TIME 6-7-50  
DATE 6-7-50  
BY [Signature]

RECORDED - 34  
INDEXED - 34

121-23278-1814  
62-8111-1577

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

18512

FOR THE PRESS

98671

MAY 20, 1950  
No. 529

Received from the State Department  
Division channels

Date 5/22/50

CAUTION  
FUTURE RELEASE  
NOTE DATE

FOR RELEASE AT 7:00 P.M., E.D.T., SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1950.  
NOT TO BE PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED, QUOTED FROM OR  
USED IN ANY WAY.

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

The Department of State today made public the following analysis of the speech delivered by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in Chicago, May 6, 1950, on "Communism in Government":

1. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: Senator McCarthy referred to the Department of State's files being examined by the Tydings Subcommittee as "skinny-ribbed bones of the files", "skeleton files"; "These purged files"; "phony files"; "1947 and '48 files instead of 1949 and '50".

The Facts. The files transmitted to the Tydings Subcommittee are the full and complete State Department files current as of the date transmitted. They contain all information relevant to the determination of employee loyalty or security. Under the Federal Employees Loyalty Program, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is the agency charged with responsibility for conducting investigations into the loyalty of State Department personnel.

A representative of the Department of Justice has been present at the meetings of the Tydings Subcommittee. The files were viewed by a representative of the Department of Justice before they were turned over to the Subcommittee. The files made available to the Subcommittee contain the material collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and transmitted to the State Department.

2. Senator McCarthy said in Chicago: "Now from page 37 of the House Report I quote the following: '...almost anyone and everyone in the State Department had access to the files ...'"

The Facts. The report to which Senator McCarthy referred is a report of the House Appropriations Committee investigators, dated January 27, 1948, which accompanied the list of 108 cases which were the basis of Senator McCarthy's speech of February 20, 1950. Senator McCarthy misquoted this report.

The report said: "...most everyone and anyone in the Division has access to the files ..."

The Division that the House investigators were talking about was the Division of Security. That is the division charged with the physical and personnel security program of the Department and the Foreign Service, and it is therefore essential that its staff have access to the files when needed.

Senator

121-23278 182

Senator McCarthy, by substituting "the State Department" for "the Division of Security", crudely misquotes the language of the report in order to give an entirely false impression: namely, that any and everyone in the Department has access to the files; whereas as a matter of fact such access is strictly limited to employees of the Division when required and to a very small number of employees outside the Security Division, such as the members of the Loyalty Security Board. Senator McCarthy substituted the entire State Department for the Division of Security, a crude misquotation for the purpose of giving an entirely false impression. It is not only a misquotation, it is a quotation out of context, a quotation over two years old made without reference to the facts as they exist at the present time.

3. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "Tell them to take the list of names which I have given ... the Secretary of State ..."

The Facts. Despite Under Secretary of State Peurifoy's reiterated requests since February 11, 1950 that Senator McCarthy furnish the Department with a list of names of the "205" or "57" accused State Department employees, Senator McCarthy has never furnished the Department or the Secretary of State such a list of names.

4. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: Describing the Federal Loyalty Program, Senator McCarthy said, "First of all, it permits each Department to investigate its own people. Those doing the investigating know little or nothing of communist techniques, even less of about how to conduct an investigation...."

The Facts. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is the agency charged under Executive Order 9835, issued over three years ago, with responsibility for conducting loyalty investigations under the Federal Loyalty Program.

5. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: Describing loyalty investigations, Senator McCarthy said, "In dozens of cases in dozens of cases -- for instance, recommendation from Agent Hiss on State Department employees was all that was needed to completely clear them -- like accepting a recommendation from Dillinger in hiring a bank clerk."

The Facts. There is not a single instance of this.

6. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "You will recall a former State Department employee by the name of George Wheeler recently retired behind the Iron Curtain after making typical communist name calling statements damning and cursing the United States. This man, George Wheeler, who had been assigned tremendously important work by the State Department had first been given a completely clean bill of health by the Loyalty Board even though his file would have convinced anyone who could add two and two that he was a full fledged communist."

The Facts: At no time has the case of George Wheeler ever been considered by a security or loyalty board of the Department of State. Mr. Wheeler was one of a group of former FEA employees in Germany who in September 1945 were transferred temporarily to the rolls of the State Department. In February 1946 the whole group was transferred to the War Department.

RECEIVED-NICHOLS  
U S DEPT OF STATE  
JUN 2 1 40 PM '50

and in fact Mr. Wheeler's transfer to the War Department was even earlier -- in December 1945. During his brief time on the State Department pay roll, Mr. Wheeler's case was under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission. All these facts were set out in a departmental press release a month before Senator McCarthy made his misstatements.

These facts were also contained in the Department's analysis of Senator McCarthy's April 20th speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, in which the Department pointed out twelve glaring McCarthy inaccuracies. Senator McCarthy on May 15 replied to the Department's statement by citing two alleged inaccuracies in the Department's analysis of his speech. He was silent as to the remaining ten. Of the two so-called inaccuracies he cited, one pertains to the case of George Wheeler. As to George Wheeler, Senator McCarthy said that the Department should "admit that Wheeler was on the pay roll and given an absolutely clean bill of health by whatever Government Loyalty Board cleared personnel for the State Department." Two comments may be made thereon: first, as of the date of Mr. Wheeler's brief employment with the Department the present loyalty program, under which the Department's loyalty board was established, was not in existence; second, Senator McCarthy's implication was that the Department's Loyalty Board was at fault. Even Senator McCarthy should see the irrelevancy of his attributing to the State Department matters under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission.

7. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "Mr. ~~X~~Service, you will recall, was picked up by the FBI in connection with the Amerasia case... The papers carried the story that J. Edgar Hoover, who is not noted for over-statements, that J. Edgar Hoover stated that this is a 100 per cent air-tight case of espionage."

The Facts. On May 1, 1950, Deputy Under Secretary of State Peurifoy in a letter to Mr. Peyton Ford, The Assistant to the Attorney General, asked whether Mr. Hoover, in fact, made any similar statement. Mr. Ford, on May 8, 1950, replied: "You are advised that Mr. Hoover did not make the statement which has been attributed to him."

The exchange of correspondence is attached. (See pp. 8, 9)

8. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "...the State Department which is about to hear the case of Service is now busily giving Mr. Service's lawyer the secret documents which the President has denied the Senate, this so that he can properly defend Mr. Service."

The Facts. The Department has categorically denied this. Mr. Service has been furnished copies of documents which he himself had prepared for the Department in the course of his duties as a foreign service officer.

Relevant excerpts from a letter of May 4, 1950 by General Conrad E. Snow, Chairman of the Department's Loyalty Security Board, to Mr. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York Herald Tribune, are attached. (See page 9)

9. Senator

9. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "First take the case of Philip Jessup, the State Department's Ambassador at Large. Now, here was really a great joiner, especially Communist front organizations...organizations which the President's own Attorney General and Congressional committee have labeled as agents of the Communist Party."

The Facts. In view of Senator McCarthy's repeated assertions the Department wrote to Mr. Morgan, Counsel of the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, investigating Senator McCarthy's charges, to see if Senator McCarthy had supplied them with any information to back up these charges. Mr. Morgan replied that Senator McCarthy has not supplied any such material. The only documentary material supplied to the committee concerning the organizational affiliations or associations of Ambassador Jessup was provided by Senator Hickenlooper, a photostat of one letterhead of the American Law Students Association listing Professor Philip Jessup of Columbia University on the Association's "Faculty Advisory Board." The American Law Students Association is not listed by the Attorney General and does not appear on the list of "Citations by Official Government Agencies" issued in 1948 by the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities.

The correspondence with Mr. Morgan is attached. (See pp. 10 and 11.)

Dr. Jessup testified, before the Subcommittee, that he had joined no Communist-front organizations, whereas the organizations to which he did belong included the following:

- The American Legion (He is a former commander of Utica Post #229)
- The American Philosophical Society
- The Foreign Policy Association
- The American Bar Association

On April 6, 1950 the Utica Post #229 passed a resolution condemning Senator McCarthy's attack upon their past commander, Philip C. Jessup. A copy of this resolution is attached. It will be noted that a copy of it was sent to Senator McCarthy with the admonition that "his reckless and despicable conduct in this instance cannot be condoned by any right-thinking American and should never be repeated if he hopes to retain a shred of public respect." (For copy of resolution, see pp. 11 and 12)

10. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "Jessup... was largely in charge of a publication known as the Far Eastern Survey, the publication of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations; that he was in charge while it was spewing forth the perfumed Communist Party line sewage...."

The Facts. Senator McCarthy grossly exaggerated Dr. Jessup's relationship with "Far Eastern Survey" based on the single fact that in 1944 Dr. Jessup served on the Research Advisory Committee of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Senator McCarthy's allegation that "Far Eastern Survey" followed the Communist Party originates in discredited contentions made by one Alfred Kohlberg in 1944. The American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations investigated Kohlberg's charges. In a document circulated to its members, it was demonstrated that Kohlberg had ignored the overwhelming number of facts that did not support his contention. The document showed, among other

this

things, that Kohlberg had quoted, in connection with "Far Eastern Survey, and other publications, from less than 2 per cent of the articles published and from less than .002 per cent of the books published. In April 1947, the membership of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations in a vote of 1163 to 66 overwhelmingly repudiated Kohlberg's charges as "inaccurate and irresponsible."

11. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "I have brought with me photostatic copies of checks representing thousands of dollars of Communist money paid to Jessup's organization." As documentation he provided photostats of two checks signed by Frederick Vanderbilt Field totalling \$3,500.

The Facts. This is another repetition of a refuted charge made by Senator McCarthy many times before. Senator McCarthy repeats it although it has already been refuted. The inference is that the Institute of Pacific Relations had been "bought" with Communist money. At that time, Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, President of the University of California, was Chairman of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations; Mr. Francis Harmon, Vice President of the Motion Picture Export Association, was Treasurer; and Mr. William R. Herod, now President of the International General Electric Company, was Chairman of the Finance Committee.

Mr. Juan Trippe, President of Pan American Airways, and Mr. Henry Luce, of Time and Life, were sponsors of a drive during that period for funds on behalf of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Mr. Field's contributions, according to Senator McCarthy's own figures, totalled only \$3,500, as compared with a total expense for the two-year period of approximately \$200,000. About half of the amount was met by contributions from the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corporation. Generous donations by large industrial concerns made up a large portion of the remainder.

12. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "Mr. Lattimore, as the nation knows, has long been referred to as the architect of the State Department's Far Eastern policy, the architect whose shadow lingers over the corpse of China."

The Facts. Senator Tydings asked Secretaries Hull, Byrnes, Marshall and Acheson whether this description was true or false. They all replied that it was false. These letters were made public by Senator Tydings on April 29, 1950. The person responsible for long and repeated use of the term "architect of the Far Eastern Policy" is Senator McCarthy who employed the term in his testimony before the Subcommittee.

13. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "....so that you will have a full picture of the extent to which Lattimore shaped our dismal policy of failure in the Far East, I call to your attention a secret document which he furnished to the State Department in August of 1949, a document which the State Department itself labeled as a guide for Ambassador at Large Jessup...."

The Facts. This is another repetition of a refuted McCarthy charge.

The

The Department publicly and fully explained in press conferences on March 31, that Owen Lattimore was one of a group of 31 persons who submitted written memoranda in response to requests made in August, 1949, by Ambassador Jessup. These memoranda were used as background material by a consultants' committee consisting of Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, Mr. Everett Case, and Ambassador Jessup in their study of United States foreign policy in the Far East. (Mr. Lattimore's memorandum was never singled out, or labeled as a guide for Ambassador Jessup.) Mr. Lattimore as director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins, was also one of 25 private individuals participating in a round-table discussion on October 6, 7, and 8, 1949 arranged by the Office of Public Affairs for the purpose of exchanging views with informed private citizens on United States foreign policy toward China. The 31 who submitted memoranda were:

Former Consul General Joseph W. Ballantine,  
now at Brookings Institution  
Professor Hugh Borton, Columbia University  
Former President Isaiah Bowman, Johns Hopkins University  
Dr. A. J. Brumbaugh, American Council on Education,  
Washington.  
Former Ambassador William Bullitt  
Former Under Secretary Castle  
Former Consul John A. Embry  
Professor Rupert Emberson, Harvard University  
Dr. Charles B. Fahs, New York City  
Professor John K. Fairbank, Harvard University  
Dr. Huntington Gilchrist, New York City  
Professor Carrington Goodrich, Columbia University  
Former Under Secretary Grew  
Colonel Robert A. Griffin,  
former Deputy Administrator, ECA China  
Former Ambassador Stanley K. Hornbeck  
Roger Lapham, Former Administrator, ECA China  
Professor Kenneth S. Latourette, Yale University  
Professor Owen Lattimore, Director of the Walter Hines  
Page School of International Relations, John Hopkins  
University  
Oliver C. Lockhart, Export-Import Bank of Washington  
Walter H. Mallory, Council on Foreign Relations  
Professor Wallace Moore, Occidental College, Los Angeles  
Professor Edwin O. Reischauer, Harvard University  
C. A. Richards, Economic Cooperation Administration  
Former Minister Walter S. Robertson, Richmond, Virginia  
Dr. Lawrence K. Rosinger, New York, New York  
Mr. James Rowe, Washington  
Mrs. Virginia Thompson (Adloff), New York City  
Professor Amry Vandenbosch, University of Kentucky  
Professor Karl A. Wittfogel, Columbia University  
Professor Mary Wright, Stanford University  
Admiral Yarnell

The following, including Mr. Lattimore and some others of the 31, attended the Round Table at the Department October 6, 7, and 8 to discuss Far East Policy:

Joseph W. Ballantine, The Brookings Institution,  
Washington, D. C.  
Bernard Brodie, Department of International Relations,  
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut  
Claude A. Buss, Director of Studies, Army War College,  
Washington, D. C.

Kenneth Colgrove, Department of Political Science,  
Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.  
Arthur G. Coons, President, Occidental College,  
Los Angeles, California.  
John W. Decker, International Missionary Council,  
New York, New York.  
John A. Fairbank, Committee on International and Regional  
Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.  
William R. Herod, President, International General Electric  
Company, New York, New York.  
Arthur N. Holcombe, Department of Government,  
Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.  
Benjamin H. Kizer, Graves, Kizer, and Graves, Spokane,  
Washington.  
Owen Lattimore, Director, Walter Hines Page School of Interna-  
tional Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore,  
Maryland.  
Ernest B. MacNaughton, Chairman of the Board,  
First National Bank, Portland, Oregon.  
George C. Marshall, President, American Red Cross,  
Washington, D. C.  
J. Morden Murphy, Assistant Vice President,  
Bankers Trust Company, New York, New York.  
Nathaniel Peffer, Department of Public Law and Government,  
Columbia University, New York, New York.  
Harold S. Quigley, Department of Political Science,  
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.  
Edwin O. Reischauer, Department of Far Eastern Languages,  
Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.  
William S. Robertson, President, American and Foreign  
Power Company, New York, New York.  
John D. Rockefeller, III, President, Rockefeller Brothers'  
Fund, New York, New York.  
Lawrence K. Rosinger, American Institute of Pacific Relations,  
New York, New York.  
Eugene Staley, Executive Director, World Affairs Council  
of Northern California, San Francisco, California.  
Harold Stassen, President, University of Pennsylvania,  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.  
Phillips Talbot, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.  
George E. Taylor, University of Washington, Seattle,  
Washington.  
Harold M. Vinacke, Department of Political Science,  
University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.

All of the memoranda and all of the views above referred to were of course submitted in confidence by their authors, and the Department could not expect these people to be frank unless it respected that confidence. The Department would not and did not, however, in any way interfere with publication of any memorandum by its author. In fact, the substance of Mr. Lattimore's article was published in an article which he wrote for the January 1950 issue of The Atlantic magazine.

14. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "But let me give a brief resume of the official Communist Party program for Asia -- there is no secret about that. Number 1, destroy the armies of Chiang Kai-shek. Number 2, get the United States out of Korea. Number 3, force the withdrawal of United States forces from Japan; and number 4, prevent the formation of a Pacific Pact against Communist aggression.

"Now

"Now, what does Lattimore tell Jessup our policy in Asia should be? Listen to this if you will: Number 1, Abandon Chiang Kai-shek; number 2, get out of Korea; number 3, withdraw United States forces from Japan; and 4, deny the need of a Pacific Pact."

The Facts. This is another repetition of a refuted McCarthy charge.

The United States' record and policy in the Far East, as it relates to the points made by Senator McCarthy may be summarized as follows:

(1) The United States poured tremendous amounts of aid into China in efforts to bolster the government of Chiang Kai-shek.

(2) The United States has led the fight for a free, democratic Korea; has taken its case to the United Nations; and, since the establishment of this government, has contributed substantial economic and military support.

(3) The United States as the principal occupying power in Japan will not enter into any peace treaty which makes impossible adequate protection of United States' security interests in the Western Pacific.

(4) The United States has publicly indicated that it would look with sympathy upon a regional alliance of Pacific nations, provided the impetus for such an association came from the nations themselves.

Following is the material referred to on pages 3 and 4:

Exchange of correspondence between Mr. John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary of State, and Mr. Peyton Ford, Assistant to the Attorney General, (referred to on page 3):

May 1, 1950

Dear Mr. Ford:

In his address on April 20, 1950 to the American Society of Newspaper Editors at the Hotel Statler in Washington, Senator McCarthy said:

"One of those arrested was John S. Service. He was never convicted; he was never tried; he was never indicted.

"J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, publicly stated at the time of the arrests that this case was a 100-per-cent air-tight case of espionage. At the time the case broke John S. Service was picked up by the FBI, Mr. Hoover made that statement, and he seldom errs on the side of overstatement, as you well know."

The Department of State is naturally interested in whether or not this statement of Senator McCarthy is an accurate one. As a result, I would appreciate it if you would inform the Department as soon as possible whether the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation made any statement similar to that attributed to him by Senator McCarthy.

Sincerely yours

JOHN E. PEURIFOY  
Deputy Under Secretary

The Honorable

Peyton Ford,

The Assistant to the Attorney General.

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May 8, 1950

John E. Peurifoy, Esquire  
Deputy Under Secretary  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Peurifoy:

This is in reply to your letter dated May 1, 1950, inquiring as to the accuracy of a statement alleged to have been made by J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, at the time of the arrest of John S. Service and other suspects involved in the so-called "Amerasia" case. You are advised that Mr. Hoover did not make the statement which has been attributed to him.

Yours Sincerely,

PEYTON FORD  
The Assistant to the Attorney General

EXCERPTS FROM GENERAL SNOW'S LETTER TO THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE  
(Referred to on page 3)

Because of the reputation of the New York Herald Tribune for fair and objective reporting, I am taking the liberty of calling your attention to the headings of two articles which appeared in your issues of May 3 and 4, respectively, regarding the conduct of the John S. Service case by the Loyalty Security Board of the Department of State, of which I am Chairman . . . .

Nor is it true that Mr. Service is being given any illegitimate advantage in the matter of access to papers. Mr. Service has not been given and will not be given access to the loyalty or personnel files which were gathered by the FBI and other investigatory bodies and which were refused by the President to the Senate Committee. Mr. Service is entitled, however, as a matter of elementary fairness to see and put in evidence, any reports or other papers in the files of the State Department which were prepared by him or in connection with the missions on which he served, which may be material to his defense. Action by the Department of State is necessary to permit him to show them to counsel. To date, the only confidential documents on which this action has been taken are documents actually written by Mr. Service himself. This is all there is to that part of the story.

The Loyalty Security Board of the Department of State is a judicial body set up for the purpose of giving to an employee accused of disloyalty, or of being a security risk, a fair hearing. While under the regulations he has no opportunity to confront and cross-examine witnesses who have given confidential information to the Board, or even to see a transcript of their statements, he is advised of the substance of the accusations, and must be given a fair opportunity to defend himself, not only by his own testimony, but also by the production of any witnesses or of any documentary evidence that may tend to establish his innocence of the accusations. The Board has an obligation to give him the fullest opportunity to prepare and present his defense.

Exchange

Exchange of correspondence between Mr. John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary of State, and Mr. Edward P. Morgan, Chief Counsel, Foreign Relations Subcommittee Investigating the State Department:  
(Referred to on page 4)

May 16, 1950

Dear Mr. Morgan:

In connection with the analysis of Senator McCarthy's speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors forwarded on May 12, 1950 to the Society by Assistant Secretary Barrett, Senator McCarthy has stated, as quoted on May 15 by the Associated Press:

"The State Department also states that Jessup belonged to no Communist front organizations. I gave photostatic proof to the committee that he was affiliated with five organizations listed by the Attorney General or congressional committees as fronts for the Communist Party.

"He was a director of one of the worst of such organizations named by the Attorney General, namely the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy."

At Atlantic City on the same day he said:

"... Now, the thing they forget is that I have presented to the Committee photostats showing that he belonged, that he was affiliated with not one, but with five Communist front organizations; and that he not only belonged to, but was a Director of one of the worst of the lot, named as such by the Attorney General..."

In view of these assertions of Senator McCarthy, it would be very much appreciated if you could make available to this Department copies of the photostats which the Committee has received from him.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. PEURIFOY

Mr. Edward P. Morgan,  
Chief Counsel,  
Foreign Relations Subcommittee,  
The Capitol.

May 17, 1950

Mr. John E. Peurifoy  
Deputy Undersecretary  
U.S. State Department  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Peurifoy:

Reference is made to your letter of May 16, 1950, referring in turn to the remarks, as quoted by the Associated Press, of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy relative to Dr. Philip Jessup, as follows:

"The State Department also states that Jessup belonged to Communist front organizations. I gave photostats to the committee that he was affiliated with five organizations listed by the Attorney General or congressional committees as fronts for the Communist Party.

"He was a director of one of the worst of such organizations named by the Attorney General, namely the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy."

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". . . Now, the thing they forget is that I have presented to the Committee photostats showing that he belonged, that he was affiliated with not one, but with five Communist front organizations; and that he not only belonged to, but was a Director of one of the worst of the lot, named as such by the Attorney General. . . ."

Relative to your request for photostatic copies of the material stated to have been turned over to the subcommittee by Senator McCarthy, you are advised that after a careful and diligent search of our files, we find no record of any material having been turned over to the subcommittee by Senator McCarthy indicating that Dr. Jessup has been associated with Communist front organizations.

For your information, however, in the course of Senator Hickenlooper's examination of Dr. Jessup, he offered in evidence, at page 530 of the transcript, a photostat of a letterhead of an organization known as the American Law Student's Association on which "Prof. Philip Jessup" of Columbia University is listed on the "Faculty Advisory Board", along with other named individuals. The Subcommittee has been supplied no other documentary material concerning organizational affiliations or associations of Dr. Jessup.

After hearing of Senator McCarthy's statements referred to above, I immediately called his office requesting the photostatic material to which he referred. Again on May 16, 1950, I called Senator McCarthy personally, advising that the subcommittee had not been supplied the photostatic material concerning Dr. Jessup to which he had referred and requested that he supply the same for our record. As yet, I have not been supplied the photostats in question.

Should they be received by me, I shall be glad to make copies thereof available to your office.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD P. MORGAN  
Chief Counsel  
Subcommittee Investigating  
the State Department.

RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ATTACK UPON PAST COMMANDER PHILIP C. JESSUP  
ADOPTED AT A REGULAR MEETING OF UTICA POST #229 AMERICAN LEGION,  
HELD ON APRIL 6TH, 1950 (Referred to on page 4)

WHEREAS, Utica Post #229 American Legion is proud to number among the list of its Past Commanders a distinguished comrade, charter member, Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, whose life devotion and continued helpfulness to our period of many years is a source of great satisfaction to Utica Post and to its entire membership;

WHEREAS.

WHEREAS, the sterling character, splendid reputation, and unquestionable loyalty and patriotism of Past Commander Philip C. Jessup, both privately and in his public capacity as U.S. Ambassador-at-Large, have recently been subjected to scurrilous, unprincipled, and wholly unjustifiable attack by one Joseph McCarthy, who in so doing has sullied the office of U.S. Senator which he presently holds,

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that Utica Post \$229 American Legion and its entire membership shall and do strongly resent, condemn and decry the unprincipled, unjustified, unsportsmanlike, un-American and intolerable conduct of Senator Joseph McCarthy in his wanton attempt without proof or reason to smear and destroy the good reputation and high standing of so devoted and patriotic a citizen as our esteemed and valued friend and comrade, the Honorable Philip C. Jessup, U.S. Ambassador-at-Large; and be it further

RESOLVED, that Utica Post \$229 American Legion and its members in meeting duly assembled feel privileged at this time to reaffirm their continued trust and confidence in, their esteem and devotion to, and their lasting friendship for a distinguished public servant, a loyal patriot, and a great citizen, the Hon. Philip C. Jessup, a Past Commander of this Post; and be it further

RESOLVED that this resolution be inscribed upon the Minutes of this meeting, that a copy thereof be delivered to our comrade, Ambassador Jessup; that a second copy be delivered to the public press; and that a third copy be mailed to Senator McCarthy with the admonition that his reckless and despicable conduct in this instance cannot be condoned by any right thinking American and should never be repeated if he hopes to retain a shred of public respect.

\* \* \*

The Director

June 9, 1950

D. M. Ladd

COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR McCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

**PURPOSE:** To furnish you summaries of information contained in Bureau files concerning Clarence John Nelson, David Zablodowsky and Serban Vallimarescu whom the State Department has named as being possibly identical with three individuals mentioned by Senator McCarthy in his speech in the Senate on June 6, 1950.

**BACKGROUND:** You will recall that Senator Joseph R. McCarthy made a speech in the Senate on June 6, 1950, in which he referred to a chart alleged to have been prepared by the Bureau purportedly showing the number of "agents," "Communists," "sympathizers" and "suspects" in the State Department as of May 15, 1947. Senator McCarthy made the statement that three persons listed in the chart are still on the rolls of the State Department. In your memorandum dated June 6, 1950, to Mr. Tolson, Mr. Nichols and myself you pointed out that you had advised Mr. Peyton Ford of the Department that the State Department had tentatively identified two of the three persons mentioned by Senator McCarthy as Clarence J. Nelson and David Zablodowsky but had no idea as to who the third individual was. In your memorandum you penned the notation: "What do our files show on Nelson and Zablodowsky?"

You will also recall that on June 7, 1950, as reflected in my memorandum to you, State Department officials advised Mr. Roach of the Liaison Section that they have been able to identify two of the individuals named by Senator McCarthy, namely, Clarence Nelson and Serban Vallimarescu. The same officials stated that David Zablodowsky may or may not be the third person.

With regard to Clarence J. Nelson, who has been employed by the State Department since 1938 as a telegrapher, this individual has been investigated on three separate occasions by the Bureau. Nelson was first investigated at the request of the State Department during May and June, 1940, and a copy of the report reflecting the results of the investigation was forwarded to the State Department on July 26, 1940. Nelson was again investigated by the Bureau during the period from March to June, 1942, and copies of the reports covering that investigation were likewise forwarded to the State Department at that time for consideration under the Hatch Act. By letter dated October 24, 1944, the State Department recommended that the case concerning Nelson be closed. A full field loyalty investigation was conducted regarding Nelson from June through August, 1948. Copies of the loyalty reports were furnished to the Civil Service Commission on August 26, 1948, and by letter dated January 9, 1949, the Commission advised that Nelson was being retained.

Tolson

Ladd

Clegg

Glavin

Nichols

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Tracy

Harbo

Mohr

Tele. Room

Nease

Gandy

Attachment

CC:js

121-23278-183

David Zablodowsky, mentioned by the State Department, is undoubtedly identical with David Zablodowsky, a former employee of the Office of Strategic Services. On December 2, 1942, a Hatch Act investigation was instituted concerning David Zablodowsky, then a Senior Economics Editor, Research and Analysis Branch, Presentation Division, Editorial Section, Office of Strategic Services, Washington, D. C. Copies of reports containing the results of the investigation were transmitted to the Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations on March 16, 1944. By letter dated March 6, 1945, to Honorable Herbert E. Gaston, Chairman, Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations, Lieutenant Colonel O. C. Doering, Jr., Office of Strategic Services, advised that David Zablodowsky was being retained. A preliminary loyalty inquiry was instituted on March 21, 1950, to determine whether Zablodowsky is currently employed by the Federal Government. It was ascertained from the Civil Service Commission that he is not ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> ~~employee~~, having left his employment with the Department of State in ~~1945~~ <sup>1946</sup>.

Based upon a request from the State Department, the Bureau initiated a Security investigation regarding Serban Vallimarescu on May 29, 1946. The investigation was discontinued when Vallimarescu resigned from his position on September 23, 1946. Copies of reports containing pertinent information were furnished the State Department on October 4, 1946, and December 11, 1946. On May 14, 1948, at the request of the State Department, an investigation of Vallimarescu was initiated under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America) and copies of reports reflecting the results of the completed investigation were transmitted to the State Department by letter dated July 16, 1948.

**ACTION:** None. Summaries on Clarence J. Nelson, David Zablodowsky and  are attached for your information.

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JUN 9 1950

DAVID ZABLODOWSKY

Background

David Zablodowsky was born in New York City on February 1, 1903, and attended Columbia University, New York City, from September, 1921 until June, 1927, and from September, 1938 until June, 1940, receiving A.B. and M.A. degrees. He also attended the International School (League of Nations) Geneva, Switzerland, from June, 1925 until September, 1925. Zablodowsky was employed as Editor of the Viking Press, Inc., New York City, from March, 1928 until May 20, 1940 and as general manager and editor of Modern Age Books, Inc., NYC, from May 20, 1940, until September, 1942. He entered on duty as a Sr. Economics Editor, Research and Analysis Branch, Presentation Division, Editorial Section, Office of Strategic Services, Washington, D. C., on September 21, 1942. In 1942 he was residing at Park Street and Trowbridge Road, Vienna, Virginia, having previously lived at Mount Airy Road, Croton-on-Hudson, New York. In January, 1944, he was residing at 418 S. Lee Street, Alexandria, Virginia. (101-5828)

A list of persons notified to the Secretary of State under the International Organization Immunities Act (approved December 29, 1945) as of November 1, 1946 carried the name of David Zablodowsky, Deputy Special Services Officer, Hotel Taft, New York. (62-77787-1816, pg. 62)

The name "David Zablodowsky (American) Presentation Officer, Hotel Taft, New York, New York" is contained in a list of United Nations Organization personnel as of May 1, 1947. (62-77787-2532, pg. 179)

Investigation by Bureau

On December 2, 1942, a Hatch Act investigation concerning David Zablodowsky, an employee of the Office of Strategic Services, was instituted based upon information received from New York T-1 (former Confidential Informant Robert M.) to the effect that Zablodowsky was "a fanatical and important Communist" who had been extremely clever in hiding his Communist affiliations in recent years. The informant claimed to have received information that Zablodowsky was working "sub rosa" for the Communist Party and also had several dealings with Robert Wohlforth, then chief investigator for the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee. (101-5828-5)

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During the investigation New York T-2 [redacted] advised that he had known Zablodowsky personally for many years and had known him to be a member of the Communist Party and to be "a Communist of the vicious type," based upon a statement he overheard Zablodowsky make in 1936 to another person indicating he would meet him at the Party Fraction Meetings. The informant stated it was common knowledge at that time that Zablodowsky was a member of the Communist Party. It was his recollection that Zablodowsky was known as the "Communist Party whip in the Book and Magazine Guild." New York T-3 [redacted] and a former member of the Communist Party, stated he was personally acquainted with Zablodowsky as both were members of the Book and Magazine Guild and that Zablodowsky had looked after Communist Party interests in the Guild. He advised that he had taken it for granted that Zablodowsky was a Party member although he had never seen his Communist Party membership book. Mr. Eugene Lyons, Editor of the American Mercury, and Mr. Benjamin Stolberg, writer, advised that Zablodowsky had the reputation among editors, authors and newspapermen of being a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Lyons and Mr. Stolberg had previously characterized Zablodowsky as "a member of the Communist Party" in articles they had published. New York T-4 [redacted] stated he was aware of a story to the effect that Zablodowsky was used as a mail drop for one A. Rubins, an admitted OGPU Agent although he had no information to prove this. According to New York T-18 (technical surveillance on [redacted]) Zablodowsky was well acquainted with [redacted] member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and head of International Publishers, Communist Party publishing house. A number of other informants stated they believed Zablodowsky was a Communist sympathizer. (101-5828-5, 6)

Investigation at Washington, D. C., disclosed that the records of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, indicate David Zablodowsky was a member of the Editorial Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism and had contributed to the "Daily Worker" on August 19, 1933. These files reflect that one Genevieve Lisitzky, 243 West 11th Street, Manhattan, New York, signed a Communist Party election petition for 1939 - 1940. Genevieve Lisitzky is the maiden name of Zablodowsky's wife. It was determined that the CSC had previously conducted an investigation of Zablodowsky, during the course of which he was variously described as "liberal," "pro-Communist," and "a person who refused to publish anti-Communist books." Zablodowsky was interviewed by a representative of the CSC and admitted he was acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Robert Minor whom he described as Communist leaders. He stated that he, Zablodowsky, was probably a member of the American League Against War and Fascism and was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy. When interviewed on January 5, 1944, at the Washington Field Office, Zablodowsky denied membership or

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activity in the Communist Party. He advised that he had been a member of the Committee for Struggle Against War and its successor, the American League Against War and Fascism. Zablodowsky stated he had served in an editorial capacity on the magazine "Fight", published by the American League Against War and Fascism. He advised that he believed his membership had terminated prior to the time the organization became known as the American League for Peace and Democracy. (101-5828-12, 15) U

On March 16, 1944, copies of reports reflecting the results of the Hatch Act investigation were transmitted to the Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations. By letter dated March 6, 1945, to Honorable Herbert E. Gaston, Chairman, Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations, Lt. Colonel O. C. Doering, Jr., of the Office of Strategic Services advised that David Zablodowsky was being retained in his position with the Office of Strategic Services. (101-5828-19) U

#### Other Subversive Information in Bureau Files

The "Guild News" for January, 1940 attacked an article in the New York Herald Tribune of November 29, 1939, written by Benjamin Stolberg, former Communist, who said that the Communists had captured the Book and Magazine Guild along with the American Federation of Teachers and the American Newspaper Guild. Stolberg went on to say that the Book and Magazine Guild had delayed publication of his book, "Inside the CIO" because David Zablodowsky, a Communist Party member of the Guild, was employed as an Assistant Editor by the Viking Press. In answer to the charge by Stolberg, the "Guild News" quoted Harold Guinsburg, President of the Viking Press, as stating that Zablodowsky had said he was never a Communist. (61-10490-146) U

On December 2, 1940, Mr. Harvey Wolf, 3938½ South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, California, an admitted former member of the Communist Party, advised that one David Zablodowsky, was among a number of individuals who were engaged in Communist activities. He advised that they occupied positions on the "intellectual front" and rendered a most valuable service as propagandists. Wolf stated that these individuals traveled back and forth across the continent, supporting and taking part in Communist front meetings and the program of the Party politically. (39-915-684) U

A memorandum dated January 5, 1942, set forth information concerning conversations between Alexander Trachtenberg, Secretary and Treasurer of International Publishers, New York City and Edward I. Aronow, a New York City attorney, concerning the campaign then being U

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conducted by the Communist Party to free Earl Browder, as obtained by the New York Office. In these conversations, references were made to "the old man" and his interest in the campaign to free Browder and that "the old man" was to carry the matter to the "chief executive". It was subsequently ascertained that "the old man" was Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah. It was also pointed out that one David Zablagosky (phonetic), possibly identical with David Zablodowsky, editor of the Viking Press was reported to have had a conference with "the old man" allegedly with reference to the freedom of Earl Browder. (61-2115-69) U

In August, 1942 the Office of Censorship furnished information to the effect that in a letter dated August 4, 1942 signed "David Zablodowsky" from Modern Age Books, Inc., 245 5th Ave., New York, New York, to Bodo Uhse, Cerrada De Londres 15 Dep. 15, Mexico, D. F., it was stated that the last of Uhse's manuscripts had been sent and that the stories had been handed to Maxim Lieber. The Office of Censorship advised that its records indicated that Uhse was formerly a Fascist and was at that time a "Communazi," associated with Margarita Nelken, an agent gaining admission for German Fifth Columnists to Mexico. (62-62736-2-12147) U

On December 11, 1942, former Confidential Informant Robert M. advised that Vera Brailowsky had admitted to him in 1936 that she was a member of the Communist Party and had told him that David Zablodowsky was also a Party member. (100-198347-3) U

In September, 1944 MID advised the NY Office that David Zablodowsky was well known as a Communist, gave free support to the Soviets during the Moscow trials, and had been a scrupulously adherent fellow traveler for over 10 years. (121-51-19) U

Alexander Gregory-Graff Barmine, New York City, a former Red Army officer and Communist Party member, while employed by the Office of Strategic Services prior to December 1, 1944, reportedly advised his superior, a Mr. Ullman, that David Zablodowsky, OSS employee, was a member of the Communist Party and was formerly a mail drop for the OGPU. In this connection, it is to be noted that, when interviewed during the course of the Hatch Act investigation regarding Zablodowsky, Barmine stated he did not know Zablodowsky personally but knew him by reputation and advised that from his knowledge and experience in the Soviet Union it was his firm conviction that Zablodowsky, as Vice President and General Manager of Modern Age Books, Inc., had to be a member of the Communist Party. He stated he had once seen a directive or circular promulgated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moscow to the effect that executives of Communist Party publishing houses, wherever located throughout the world, had to be members of the Communist Party. He furnished no information at that time to indicate that Zablodowsky had been a mail drop for the OGPU. (74-1333-3221, pg. 276) U

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The Washington Times Herald for February 27, 1945, stated that Representative Dewey Short read to the House the Communist connections of David Zablodowsky, Senior Economic Editor for the Office of Strategic Services. According to the article, he noted that Zablodowsky had been a member of the Editorial Board of the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, branded as subversive by Attorney General Biddle. It was further stated that OSS knew of Zablodowsky's background but accepted the decision of the CSC declaring him eligible for employment in the government and that Zablodowsky had said he was not and had never been a Communist. (61-7557-A) U

An article in the Washington Times Herald on August 22, 1945, concerning the Office of Strategic Services stated in part: "David Zablodowsky, contributor to the Daily Worker, official Communist daily, and member of the Editorial Board of 'Flight', official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, is Senior Economic Director. Zablodowsky was cited by former Attorney General Biddle as subversive." (62-64427-A) U

In a letter to the Bureau dated February 25, 1946, Mrs. Margaret Dunne, 62 First Street, New York, New York, described David Zablodowsky, Office of Strategic Services, as a Communist. (100-0-21264) U

On June 12, 1946, the Department of State advised that Presentation Associates, Inc., was composed largely of officers of the Department of State and that practically every person concerned with it was identified as being either a Communist or a Communist sympathizer. The Department of State advised that David Zablodowsky was reported to be spending considerable time at Presentation Associates Inc., during official government hours and that he had consistently been reported as a member of the Communist Party. It was later learned that the Certificate of Incorporation for Presentation, Inc. listed David Zablodowsky as a stockholder. (100-345490-1, 2)

Confidential Informant Z advised that in a letter mailed to Mary Jane Keeney, suspected Russian espionage agent, on August 9, 1946, Daniel Melcher, 476 N Street, S. W., Washington, D. C., mentioned that David Zablodowsky was with the United Nations in NYC. (65-56402-1638X, pg. 72) X

On January 31, 1947, and April 24, 1947, the Military District of Washington furnished information to the effect that an informant had advised that David Zablodowsky was among former OSS officers who were members of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. (100-7060-370, 378; 100-7660-4314X) U

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A document prepared by Mr. Benjamin Stolberg, 222 West 23rd Street, NYC, for the National Industrial Conference Board, NYC, and made available on March 1, 1947, reflects that David Zablowdowsky was an assistant to Alger Hiss at the San Francisco Conference which organized the United Nations. This document states in part, "Zablowdowsky has a long Party line record. During the Hoover administration he was Editor of the Bulletin of the American Committee for Struggle Against War which became the American League Against War and Fascism and still later the American League for Peace and Democracy. In 1933 and 1934 he was Editor of 'Fight', the official organ of this Communist front which was cited as subversive by Attorney General Francis Biddle. Throughout the thirties he was as busy as a bee in various Communist dominated enterprises. He was on the Editorial Board of the Office Worker, official organ of the UOPWA, the Communist dominated CIO Office Workers Union. He was also the moving spirit in the Book and Magazine Guild, another Communist dominated union in the publishing field. Later he became the Editor of Modern Age Books, a decidedly left wing publishing firm. During the war Zablowdowsky was with the OSS, where he was an active member of the Communist 'fraction' - - General 'Wild Bill' Donovan, head of the OSS, had the wild idea that he needed both Communists and Fascists in his outfit and that he knew how to handle them. For a time in between, Zablowdowsky was with the Office of Intelligence Collection and Dissemination of the State Department. He is now working on the United Nations in company with a number of other American leftwingers." (62-39749-828) U

An article captioned, "Marzani Film Bares State Department Red Cell" in the New York Journal American for June 1, 1947 stated that a large group formerly holding top secret positions in the State Department helped produce the movie, "Deadline for Action," authored and directed by Carl A. Marzani and which was being investigated as a link in the Red transmission belt. According to the article, the picture was produced by Presentation Inc. and stockholders included David Zablowdowsky. It was stated that Zablowdowsky was a regular contributor to the "Daily Worker". (100-350706-2) U

An article in the July 23, 1947, issue of the New York Journal American reflects that Walter S. Steele, Chairman of the National Security Committee of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, in testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities listed "David Zablowdowsky, formerly with OSS, a contributor to Red publications" among outstanding examples of Communists and Communist sympathizers serving in the Armed Forces during World War II. (100-2267-A) U

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When interviewed in March, 1949, regarding Alger Hiss, Ralph Toledano, anti-Communist author, advised that he was informed that David Zablodowsky was placed into the United Nations and into the State Department upon the recommendation of Alger Hiss. (74-1333-2998)

A summary prosecutive report dated March 30, 1949, prepared by the New York Office regarding Alger Hiss contains personal history and background data regarding Jay David Whittaker Chambers as related by him. He stated that while attending college he used to eat his lunch with a group including one David Zablodowsky. Chambers related that from these individuals he had his first exposure to Marxist ideas. He advised that they had long and violent arguments in which they had tried to convert him to Marxism. Chambers noted, however, that all of the members of this group were not "Socialists" to the same degree. (74-1333-3221, pg. 229)

During the period from May 16, 1949, to July 28, 1949,

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New York, who requested his name be kept confidential, advised that David Zablodowsky headed the Printing Division where Abraham Zusevitch Nadel was employed. Nadel had been observed on a number of occasions in 1948 conversing with Valentine Alkseevich Gubitchev, Russian national and United Nations employee. On three occasions Gubitchev was noted passing material to Nadel. (65-58488-11)

In September, 1949, Mr. James B. Donovan, New York Attorney, stated that while in OSS he was aware of a certain left wing element in the organization which assumed great powers at the San Francisco Conference because of their association with Alger Hiss. He named David Zablodowski among those he thought were Communists in this group. (74-1333-3877)

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CLARENCE JOHN NELSON

Background:

Clarence John Nelson was born June 10, 1897, at Ludington, Michigan. He served in the United States Navy from January 1918, until honorably discharged in September, 1921. From 1921 to 1938, he was employed as a telegrapher at Detroit, Michigan, Washington, D. C., New Orleans, Louisiana, Chicago, Illinois, Lincoln, Nebraska and Grand Rapids, Michigan. From September, 1924 to March, 1927, he also attended the National College of Chiropractic at Chicago receiving a PH.C. degree on March 30, 1927. Nelson practiced Chiropractic in the vicinity of Ludington, Michigan, in the early 1930's.

Nelson has been employed by the Department of State, Washington, D. C., since August 22, 1938, and served for about ten months commencing in January, 1945, with the State Department in London, England. He is currently employed as a telegrapher in the Division of Communications and Records at the State Department, Washington, D. C., and resides with his wife at 4023 Kansas Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. (State Department records and Loyalty Form, 121-11044-1,5)

Investigations by Bureau:

The Bureau commenced an investigation concerning Clarence John Nelson at the request of the State Department on May 25, 1940. The State Department reported that Nelson, who was then employed as a telegrapher in the State Department, had attempted to distribute the "Daily Worker" on two or three occasions. This investigation was discontinued on June 8, 1940, upon the request of the State Department. A report prepared on the investigation completed prior to the request for discontinuance, a copy of which was furnished to the State Department on July 26, 1940, reflects that H. C. McMakin, a telegrapher employed by the U. S. Navy at Washington, D. C., said that he had observed "Bolshevistic literature" in a trunk owned by Nelson and stored in the attic of McMakin's home. McMakin stated that in his opinion, Nelson was a radical and did not believe in the American flag. John L. Bishop, an employee of the Navy Department, Washington, D. C., also stated that he felt that Nelson was inclined to be radical. Bishop was unable to furnish specific information in this regard. (65-12813-1,34)

Nelson was again investigated by the Bureau during March-June, 1942. This investigation was instituted under the character "State Department - Special Inquiry," but was converted into a Hatch Act investigation.

Source of Information A of the Grand Rapids Office

Tolson

Ladd

Clegg

Glavin

Nichols

Rosen

Tracy

Harbo

Mohr

Tele. Room

Nease

Gandy

CMN:cg

stated that he had known

Nelson since 1917, when he, Hofman, was employed as a telegraph operator and Nelson was employed as a Western Union messenger boy at Grand Rapids, Michigan.

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Hofman stated that Nelson did not indicate any radical tendencies as of 1917, but that during the course of the next thirteen years, when he and Nelson were engaged in similar jobs as telegraph operators, he noted that Nelson developed a strong radical Communist attitude. He characterized Nelson as a "soap box" type of agitator for Communist principles. (77-18892-12 pg 1, 2)

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Source of Information B of the Grand Rapids Office [redacted]

[redacted] stated that he had known Nelson since 1932, when the latter lived in Ludington, Michigan. According to Swarthout, Nelson was a known Communist while living in Ludington and was a ring leader and organizer for the local young Communists. (77-18892-12 pg 2)

Source of Information C of the Grand Rapids Office [redacted]

[redacted] described Nelson as one who preached disgruntled, dissatisfied, anti-democratic doctrines. In Barber's opinion, Nelson's statements could be described as either Socialistic or Communist. He stated that Nelson was active in Ludington during the early 1930's as an organizer of local young Communists who were seeking higher wages on the WPA and holding meetings to secure volunteers to fight for Loyalist Spain. (77-18892-12 pg2)

Sources of Information A, B and C stated they did not know whether or not Nelson was actually a member of the Communist Party while residing at Ludington, Michigan.

Confidential Informant T-1 [redacted]

[redacted] stated that he met Nelson in 1937, while both were employed by J. C. Bachs and Company, stock brokers at Battle Creek, Michigan. He said that he had spent numerous evenings in the company of Nelson and his wife and had heard Nelson discuss social and political problems. This informant stated that Nelson admitted having made many "soap box" speeches in his youth prior to 1937. The informant added, however, that he had no present knowledge indicating Nelson's association with any radical group or organization. (77-18892-11)

Confidential Informant T-1 of the Denver Office [redacted]

[redacted] also characterized Nelson as a "soap box" orator. He stated that Nelson had books on Karl Marx and Communism in his library and that on one occasion Nelson had tried to talk the informant into going to Russia with him to work as a telegrapher, stating that they would get \$400 a month in Russia and would be ranked next to professional men. Informant said that Nelson gave the general impression "Russia is a little bit better place to go than the United States." Confidential Informant T-2 of the Denver Office [redacted] stated that Nelson had told her in 1936, that he intended to vote for Earl Browder for president. This informant stated that on one occasion Nelson gave her a book to read on Russia. She was unable to recall the name of the book but remembered that it pictured Russia as an ideal country. (77-18892-6)

Confidential Informant T-2 of the Washington Field Office [redacted]

[redacted] of Nelson, stated that he received the publication "In Fact" (cited by HCUA as "Communist front") as of March, 1942. She added that Nelson believed in Russia and that Communism was not as bad as some people painted it. (77-18892-4 pg 2)

Nelson was interviewed by Bureau Agents on August 3, 1942. He executed a signed statement in which he denied membership in or activity on behalf of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League or any other organization advocating the overthrow of the Federal Government. (77-18892-13)

Copies of the reports prepared during the investigation conducted during March-June, 1942, were furnished to the Department of State. In a letter dated October 24, 1944, the Department of State recommended that the case be closed without further action and added that Nelson's superiors in the State Department "have no reason whatever to be suspicious of the man or his work."

The Bureau conducted a loyalty investigation concerning Nelson during June-August, 1948. The loyalty investigation was predicated upon information furnished by Confidential Informant Washington T-1 [redacted]

[redacted] to the effect that Nelson "liked Communist people better than Americans" and that he had observed a number of books in Nelson's trunk which appeared to be "Communist propaganda." Substantive information developed in the earlier investigations was incorporated in the loyalty reports. In addition, the loyalty investigation developed information to the effect that Nelson had been active in the Workers Alliance in Michigan and was generally described by fellow employees, neighbors and friends as a person who often expressed anti-capitalist views and one who liked to argue in order to show his knowledge and to make himself appear important.

Mr. T. J. Barber, Chief of Police at Ludington, Michigan, stated during the course of the loyalty investigation, that Nelson was one of the original WPA workers in the Ludington area. He said that Nelson was generally reputed to be one of the active members of the Workers Alliance (cited by the Attorney General as Communist), an organization which grew up within the WPA and which had the reputation of being a Socialistic organization. Chief Barber added that he was well-acquainted with Nelson and said that Nelson had never advocated any disloyal policies in his presence and that he personally had no proof that Nelson was a member of the Workers Alliance. Mr. Edward Larson, City Manager, Ludington, Michigan, stated that he was Assistant Engineer on local WPA projects while Nelson was employed on the WPA. Larson recalled that Nelson was a close associate of Oscar Peterson who headed the Workers Alliance

at Ludington. Mr. Desiree Smith, a pool room proprietor at Ludington, recalled that in the early 1930's Nelson and his friends were in the habit of visiting his establishment for coffee after meetings of their organization which Mr. Smith believed was the Workers Alliance. On these occasions, according to Smith, Nelson carried a brief case and it was Mr. Smith's belief that Nelson was Secretary of the organization. Smith added that he had never heard Nelson advocate any policies which he considered to be disloyal. (121-11044-35)

Frederick Falkenberg, Jr., an employee of the Public Buildings Administration, San Francisco, California, executed a signed statement in which he said that he had been acquainted with Nelson while he, Falkenberg, was employed as a member of the Guard Force at the State Department, Washington, D. C., in 1940. Falkenberg said it was common talk among the Guard Force as well as the employees of the State Department that Nelson was a Communist. Falkenberg was unable to recall specific information in this regard, except a conversation which he had had with Nelson in which the latter had stated he thought we needed a change in Government. Falkenberg said he asked Nelson if he meant a Communist government and according to Falkenberg, Nelson replied in the affirmative. (121-11044-27 pg 1).

A number of fellow employees of Nelson at Washington, D. C., stated that he had often expressed anti-capitalist views saying that wealthy people kept the middle class down. A number of these associates were of the opinion that Nelson held Communist leanings and based their opinions on his anti-capitalist statements. None of these individuals furnished any information indicating Nelson's activity in the Communist Party or related organizations. (121-11044-5)

State Department files contained a copy of a report on a hearing afforded Nelson by the State Department on June 12, 1947, in which Nelson said that he abhorred Communism and considered it more dangerous to our way of life than Nazism. During the State Department hearing, Nelson said that he had seen the "New Masses" and the "Daily Worker" on occasion but that he was not a subscriber or regular reader of these publications. (121-11044-5)

Copies of the reports prepared during the loyalty investigation were furnished to the Civil Service Commission on August 26, 1948. In a letter dated January 9, 1949, the Loyalty Review Board advised that Nelson was being "Retained."

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aka [redacted] summary

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### Background

[redacted] was born [redacted] Prior to 1940, Constantin Vallimarescu was Rumanian Minister to Chile, Uruguay and Argentina, and [redacted] obtained his secondary education at the Lycee Francais in Buenos Aires, Argentina. He attended Harvard College during the school years 1940-41 and 1941-42, receiving an A.B. cum laude in October, 1942. From July 17, 1943, to October 31, 1945, he served in the United States Army, being relieved of active duty as First Lieutenant October 31, 1945. On September 17, 1943, while serving in the United States Army, [redacted] was granted United States citizenship in the U. S. District Court, District of Columbia, receiving Certificate [redacted]

Following his release from active duty in the Army, he was transferred to a position in the Strategic Services Unit of the State Department, where he was employed until September 23, 1946. At that time he resigned his position with the State Department.

On May 2, 1945, [redacted] who was born [redacted] Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service indicate that his wife, an alien, arrived in the United States January 10, 1946, and that on July 2, 1946, she was granted a re-entry permit in view of her intention to accompany her husband, beginning August 16, 1946, on a trip to Oslo, Norway, where they were to visit her husband's parents. It is noted that Constantin Vallimarescu, [redacted] at that time was a Rumanian diplomat stationed at Oslo, Norway. Passport records indicate that Vallimarescu's trip did not begin until October, 1946.

Upon his return to the United States, he was again given employment in the State Department as a Research Analyst. On June 7, 1950, he was still a State Department employee.

### Investigations by Bureau

#### I. Internal Security Investigation

During May, 1946, Mr. Fred Lyon of the State Department, through Liaison channels, requested the Bureau to conduct an investigation concerning [redacted] who was then employed in the European Section, Political Branch (Division of Europe, Near East, and Africa, Intelligence Office, Research and Intelligence) Strategic Services Unit, as an Analyst, Grade P-3.

~~CLASSIFIED DECISIONS MADE BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC) DATE: 2-21-80 ORK/jel~~

Classified by 2969  
Exempt from automatic declassification 3  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

DPG/DLC 4/12/78

ENCLOSURE

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Basis for Lyon's Request

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Mr. Lyon furnished the Bureau an intra State Department memorandum dated May 6, 1946 which related in substance the following information in the nature of a series of circumstances he believed might be indicative of disloyalty on the part of [ ]

[ ] was handling all secret and confidential information concerning Rumania in his section and had access to top secret material which came into his branch in the State Department. In December, 1945, [ ] attended a cocktail party at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, accompanied by a female employee of the State Department whom he had invited. [ ] carried a manila envelope with him to the party which was being held in the suite of Lieutenant General Vladimar Stoichev, Bulgarian Military Representative in the United States. [ ] reportedly laid the manila envelope on a chair at the party and it was subsequently retrieved by General Stoichev. The female employee subsequently heard [ ] say to General Stoichev: "What do you think of my home work?"

[ ] guest reported to State Department officials that she had met one Boyan Chukanov, Bulgarian Press representative in the United States, who was most gracious to her and was inquisitive as to her employment.

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In January, 1946, the Strategic Services Unit was making plans to send two undercover representatives to Bucharest. One of the persons to be sent was [ ]. In February or March, 1946 [ ] was successful in obtaining admittance, utilizing his State Department pass, to the section of the Strategic Services Unit building reserved for X-2 staff members. The female employee previously mentioned worked there as did [ ]. [ ] was not entitled to enter this restricted section of the building. He had a luncheon engagement with the female employee and insisted that [ ] accompany them. He also insisted that they eat at a particular restaurant, a request which Mr. Lyon said appeared unusual.

The two employees who were to go in undercover capacity to Rumania subsequently were granted admittance permits by the Soviet Military authorities there with unusual speed. The reversal of prevailing Soviet policy of delay in issuing such permits was taken by the State Department officials as a possible indication that the two agents might have been identified. The issuance of these permits apparently occurred the latter part of April or early May, 1946. About the middle of May, 1946, [ ] at 6:15 P.M., a rather odd hour, tried to reach [ ] by telephone at the Strategic Services Unit Office. He was advised [ ] was no longer with that organization. The State Department memorandum indicated that [ ] had not seen [ ] at any time after the luncheon mentioned above and did not subsequently endeavor to contact him, although [ ] was still in Washington.

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It appeared to the State Department that [ ] may have been making the call to [ ] as an agent for someone else to determine whether [ ] was still an employee of the Strategic Services Unit. The State Department memorandum asserted that there might have been some connection between this telephone call and the

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rapid extension by Soviet Military authorities of the admittance permits to [ ] and the other Strategic Services Unit undercover agent. It pointed out that [ ] has a reputation at the State Department for not being security conscious and that he is regarded somewhat of a "play boy," spending only a bare minimum of time at his desk. (100-345176-2)

Results of Internal Security Investigation

As a result of Mr. Lyon's request, the Washington Field Office by letter dated May 29, 1946, was ordered to institute an immediate Internal Security R investigation concerning [ ] This investigation is reported in file 100-345176.

It was determined that the female employee of the State Department, who was the source of the information relating to [ ] contact with Lieutenant General Vladimar Stoichev, was [ ] an employee of the Strategic Services Unit at the State Department. She said upon interview that [ ] had escorted her to the Shoreham Hotel during December, 1945, where they had attended a cocktail party in the lounge. Upon arrival, [ ] discovered that General Stoichev was in the group, as was Bayon Chukanov, the Bulgarian Press representative in the United States. She said that [ ] had given her the impression that he was anti-Soviet and that during the course of the party at the Shoreham Hotel he took her aside and told her he suspected that Bayon Chukanov was a "Red."

During the party, [ ] explained to [ ] that he had to leave for a short time and go home and get some papers for General Stoichev. [ ] who lived only a short distance from the hotel, returned in a very short time with the papers, which were contained in a manila envelope. He left the envelope on a chair and asked [ ] to dance. When the party broke up those in attendance repaired to General Stoichev's suite at the Shoreham. Upon arrival there [ ] remembered the envelope had been left on a chair in the cocktail lounge. She reminded [ ] who returned to the lounge and brought the envelope to General Stoichev's suite.

[ ] asserted that there was not the slightest attempt at secrecy on the part of [ ] and General Stoichev. As for Bayon Chukanov, [ ] said that he seemed to take a fancy to her and shortly after this cocktail party he invited her to lunch. She accepted his invitation and lunched with him at the Madriilion Restaurant. She said he called her several times after this but owing to her position in the State Department she felt she should not be consorting with such a man as Chukanov and therefore declined his invitations.

[ ] related that she had become acquainted with [ ] at Bucharest where she was stationed from November, 1944, to June, 1945. During this time [ ] consorted chiefly with the French diplomatic group. She saw him and conversed with him occasionally and she added he did not give her the impression

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that he was pro-Soviet. She recalled that she had first met [redacted] in Bucharest. This was about Christmas time in 1944. She believed that [redacted] had come to Bucharest from Istanbul where her father held some position of influence on behalf of the Rumanian Government.

The Washington Field Office reports set forth the allegations received from [redacted] background information concerning [redacted] and the results of surveillances and auxiliary investigation concerning the subject. According to the reports of Special Agent [redacted] dated August 22, 1946, and November 13, 1946, no suspicious activities on the part of Vallimarescu were noted. The investigation included an examination of [redacted] personal effects. From these personal effects it was determined that [redacted] address book contained a number of entries, among them being the name [redacted] and the name Free World, 55 West 42nd Street, New York, New York.

Concerning the name [redacted], it is noted information was received in an anonymous letter during 1941 that on [redacted] was one of three international Communists who was reportedly coming to the United States from France in 1941. (100-22951-1)

A search of the files of the Boston Office during the Internal Security - R investigation of [redacted] revealed that in May, 1943, [redacted] an agent for the John Hancock Life Insurance Company, Somerville, Massachusetts, Branch Office, advised that [redacted] a student at Tufts Medical College was the son of the famous [redacted] of the French Army. Information was received from a highly confidential source that [redacted] had signed his name to a scroll of greeting to the Soviet Army, which scroll emanated from Tufts College. The date this information was received is not set out in the Boston report. (100-345176-6)

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In connection with "Free World," [redacted] an official of "Free World Association," advised in 1943 that this organization, an affiliate of "Free World, Incorporated," and the "Free World Association," as "viewed from the outside, seems to be dedicated to the destruction of the Axis and the construction of international cooperation," but that "its double goal is directed toward putting this Association in the service of Russia, if not here in the United States, then in Europe during its period of reconstruction." [redacted] further stated that these organizations were dominated by [redacted] (123-3010-4)

The Internal Security investigation of [redacted] was discontinued upon receipt of a State Department memorandum dated December 19, 1946, which advised that [redacted] had resigned from the State Department effective September 23, 1946, and which stated that further investigation was not desired by the Department of State. It is noted that a copy of the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated August 22, 1946, was furnished to the State Department on October 4, 1946, and that Special Agent [redacted] report dated November 13, 1946, was furnished to the State Department on December 11, 1946.

## II. Voice of America Investigation

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On May 14, 1948, at the request of the State Department, we initiated a Voice of America investigation concerning [redacted]. This investigation did not develop any derogatory information relating to the loyalty of [redacted] but on the contrary a number of persons who were interviewed described him as being anti-Communist. Copies of reports reflecting the completed investigation were transmitted to the State Department by letter dated July 16, 1948, and this letter called the State Department's attention to the data contained in the reports of Special Agent [redacted] which had been furnished to the State Department during 1946. (123-749)

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### Other References to [redacted] in Bureau Files

On November 26, 1948, [redacted] and her attorney appeared at the New York Office and related the following information. [redacted] a citizen of Rumania, from October, 1946, to January, 1948, had been employed in the Rumanian Embassy at Washington. In January, 1948, after a change of government in Rumania, she was recalled but refused to return to Rumania and applied for status as a political refugee. On September 28, 1948, [redacted] and on the same day she was married she received a telephone call from an unidentified man asking her for fifty dollars and telling her that if she refused the money he would reveal certain information about her past to her husband. Her husband also received telephone calls from an unidentified man who told her husband the same thing. Later she received a series of letters in a similar vein.

Following this series of events a man unknown to her husband but later identified as [redacted] appeared at her husband's office and told him about an affair that [redacted] had had prior to her marriage.

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[redacted] said that she had known [redacted] through mutual friends and that she knew he was employed by the United States State Department assigned to the Rumanian desk in its New York office. She said that [redacted] was doing everything he could to break up her marriage and had told her: "I will see that you are deported."

[redacted] said she turned over all of the letters to Inspector Broderick of the Post Office Department in New York City, who had interviewed [redacted] and had secured handwriting specimens from him. She said Inspector Broderick then advised her that [redacted] did not write the letters. 4

It is noted that [redacted] is identical with [redacted] a member of the Rumanian Delegation who had been for a time an espionage suspect. The information concerning her is set forth in the case entitled "Rumanian Mission, Internal Security - R - Rumanian." This investigation was negative as to espionage activity on the part of [redacted] (9-16654-1)

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It is noted that the allegations that [ ] endeavored to blackmail [ ] appear in a subsequent Voice of America investigation involving [ ] wherein [ ] was given as a reference. b6  
(123-3010-6) b7C

Constantin Vallimarescu, [ ] subsequent to resigning his position as Rumanian Minister to Argentina, was the leader of the Free Rumanian Movement in the Argentine. In 1947 Constantin Vallimarescu resigned as Rumanian Minister to Norway and in 1949 he and Marie, his wife, left New York City for Uruguay. It is noted that Bureau files contain no information that Constantin Vallimarescu has been engaged in subversive activities and allegations have been made that he is anti-Communist. (40-4893; 102-119-327) u

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

98670

1950

Mr. Tolson	Mr. Tolson	Mr. Waikart
Mr. Clegg	Mr. Ladd	Mr. Jones
Mr. Glavin	Mr. Clegg	Mr. <del>Adams</del>
Mr. Ladd	Mr. Glavin	Mr. H. L. Edwards
Mr. Nichols	Mr. Nichols	Mr. McGuire
Mr. Rosen	Mr. Rosen	Mr. Mohr
Mr. Tracy	Mr. Tracy	Mr. Gauthier
Mr. Harbo	Mr. Harbo	Mr. Renneberger
Mr. Belmont	Mr. Belmont	Mr. Nease
Mr. Carlson	Mr. Mohr	Miss Gandy
Mr. Winterrowd	Tele. Room	
Mr. Pennington	Mr. Nease	
	Miss Gandy	

Miss Holmes	Records Section
Miss Dougherty	Personnel Files
Telephone Room	Reading Room

*Stanley*

For Your Info.	Please Initial
Note and Return	See Me
File	Call Me
Return With File	Recopy
Def. Record-Route	Def. Record-Return

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Ladd *St AB*

FROM : A. H. Belmont *AB*

SUBJECT: Charges of Senator Joseph McCarthy  
Bureau Prepared Chart on Communists in State Department

DATE: June 9, 1950

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Samuel S. Boykin, State Department, contacted Mr. Roach this morning and stated that he had talked to the Director last night concerning a proposed State Department release at 12:00 noon today. He stated that the Director approved in substance a release which would state that the charts were not prepared by the FBI and that the State Department had verified this with the FBI and the Department of Justice. The release further stated that the FBI did not evaluate the material as it did not prepare it.

Mr. Boykin stated he wanted to call this to Mr. Roach's attention, but stated he had previously cleared it with the Director.

## ACTION:

None. This is for your information.

RRR:mls

*WPK*  
Right but I also told him  
to admit Klaus was a liar.

RECORDED

121-23278-184

JUN 22 1950

34

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-60056

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JUNE 9, 1950  
No. 614

98668

The Department of State has already characterized as absolutely false the statement by Senator McCarthy that a photostat which he produced on the Senate floor June 6 constituted proof that three men individually listed by the FBI as Communist agents in 1946 are still working for the Department.

It has pointed out that the Senator's charge was based upon the completely erroneous belief that a 1946 chart referred to in the photostated document, a chart purportedly evaluating Departmental personnel in terms of Communist "agents", "Communists", "sympathizers", and "suspects", was prepared by the FBI.

Furthermore, the Department has stated that the chart in question was not prepared by or received from the FBI, but was merely a working document prepared in the Department's Security Office as a basis of further personnel investigations in 1946.

The Department has also stated that no persons purportedly identified on that chart as Communist "agents", "Communists" and the like are now employed by the Department except those whose loyalty has since been thoroughly checked, evaluated, and reviewed under the President's Loyalty Program.

Since the issuance of this statement to the press by the Department, on June 6, 1950, a thorough review of the chart and report in question, together with a careful inquiry into the circumstances of their preparation and the status of personnel involved, has been made by the Department.

The following analysis of Senator McCarthy's speech is based upon the facts developed by that study:

1. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "The Bureau (FBI) sent to the State Department on that date (May 15, 1946) a detailed statement listing what they considered as No. 1, Soviet agents; No. 2, Communists; No. 3, Communist sympathizers; and No. 4, suspects."

The facts: As previously stated by the Department, neither the chart itself nor the report of August 3, 1946 in which Senator McCarthy has cited a reference to the chart, was prepared by, or sent to the State Department by, the FBI, and this has been verified to the Department of State both by the Department of Justice and by the FBI. On the contrary, the chart and the report were prepared within the Department of State itself. The chart was prepared on May 15, 1946 and the report on August 3, 1946.

The Department of State itself, after consultation with the writer of the report, with the former Security Officer under whose direction and in whose office the chart was prepared, with certain of his then subordinates familiar with the chart, and with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and after reviewing working papers which are still in our file, has conclusively determined that the chart was not prepared or furnished by the FBI, but was prepared as an investigator's working document in the Department of State in 1946 and by employees of the Department of State. Interview with the writer of the report, who is still in the Department, and the Security Officer with whom he had a conversation about the chart established that the writer of the report drew from his conversation with the Security Officer the unintentionally erroneous conclusion that the chart was prepared in the FBI.

2. Senator

2. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "The function of the FBI is merely that of a fact-finding body ... This is the only time it has been brought to my attention that the FBI has departed from its function and said, 'We will evaluate our own evidence in our files and give it to the Department'. Apparently, the reason was that they must have been seriously disturbed by what they had in their files..."

The Facts: This statement is patently false. In the first place, as previously stated, the chart in question was not prepared or submitted by the FBI to begin with. Information from the FBI was included with information from other agencies -- OSS, Civil Service, etc., in the files which the State Department personnel consulted in drawing up the chart; but there was no FBI evaluation of the State Department employees.

In the second place, since the FBI had nothing to do with the preparation of the chart, it obviously could not have talked to itself in the manner described by Senator McCarthy about the "evaluation" of "evidence" concerned. Since the issuance of the State Department's first statement in this connection, the FBI has verified to the Department the fact that it not only had nothing to do with the preparation of the chart but that it also had nothing to do with evaluating the personnel indicated on the chart as purported "Agents", "Communists", etc., or in any other way. Thus, Senator McCarthy's assertion that the FBI took unprecedented action in the matter is utterly unfounded, and his inference that the FBI took such action because it was "seriously disturbed" by the contents of its files is pure fantasy.

3. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "The submission of the list of Soviet Agents, Communists, and so forth, to the State Department by the FBI met with such little favorable activity on the part of the State Department that, so far as I know, the Bureau has never submitted a like chart since that date."

The Facts: Though the chart in question had not been submitted to the Department by the FBI back in 1946 or at any other time it was, as a matter of fact, a working list of Departmental personnel on whom the Department's Security Officer at that time (May 15, 1946) had received allegations which, in the opinion of the Security Officers by whom the chart was prepared, warranted further investigation. Virtually the entire activity of the Security Officer and his top men at that time was directed toward the utilization and full development of the leads and information received from the FBI, from departmental investigation and other sources, particularly relating to the people listed on the 1946 chart. Moreover, on the basis of the findings and recommendations contained in the "Secret" report in which the chart was referred to, energetic steps were taken toward an improved Security set-up of the Department, including the successful direction of such investigations as that leading in 1946 to the firing, followed by trial and conviction, of Carl Marzani.

4. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "This (the language of the report) is not the language of McCarthy; it is the language of the State Department's top investigators."

The Facts: The language was not the language of any one of the Department's "investigators"; it was the language of an administrative officer of the Department, assigned by Assistant Secretary Russell, in charge of the Department's security program, to undertake, on a highly confidential basis, a study in Washington of the operations of the Department's organization in 1946 for dealing with problems of personnel security.

Senator

5. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "The man who makes this report says in effect, 'The only way we are going to get rid of the other Communists is accidentally by a reduction in the force.' ... From all the information we have been able to obtain, none of the men who were labeled by the FBI have been fired, but were allowed to resign..."

The Facts: The writer of the report said no such thing directly or by implication. His report dated August 3, 1946 in fact was intended to, and did, explore the means for making existing security procedures more effective, especially against the penetration of foreign intelligence agencies into the Department of State. His reference to reduction in force as a factor in eliminating persons named on the chart was factual - but it did not exclude other methods. Such other methods, including resignation - which the Senator himself contradictorily names as the only method - and firing, where investigation supported this action, were effectively employed. No case today remains unresolved.

6. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "The FBI wisely refused to submit top secret information to the State Department on these dangerous individuals ... apparently not trusting the State Department to that extent ..."

The Facts: The FBI has never refused to make available to appropriate officers of the State Department through established liaison channels information concerning State Department personnel.

7. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "At least three of those listed as Communist agents by the FBI three years ago are still holding high positions in the State Department. ... Those names are included among the 106 names that I gave to the (Tydings) committee ... Those names I have checked and I know the persons are working in the State Department ... I ... have the proof that those men are working in the State Department as of this very moment."

The Facts: This statement is absolutely false. The Department of State has in its possession the working chart itself dated May 15, 1946. Of the 20 persons hypothesized on the chart as "agents", there is only one who - after thorough reinvestigation including a full FBI investigation, and clearance under the Department's Loyalty and Security procedures - is still in the employ of the Department. That one does not hold a "high position"; his grade is GS-9. Furthermore, that one is not on the list of 106 Senator McCarthy gave the Tydings Subcommittee.

8. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "You will note that I am ... only referring today to those who are listed as Communist agents. I hope to be able to give the Senate a complete picture of how many of the total of 106 agents, Communist sympathizers, and so forth, are still on the State Department's payroll..."

The Facts: Any person among those listed on the old 1946 working chart referred to by Senator McCarthy who is still employed in the Department of State has been the subject of careful investigation and has been cleared for security after thorough study of his case either by the Division of Security, acting with the benefit of the FBI's information, or by the Loyalty Security Board of the Department. Each loyalty decision by the Department's Loyalty Board has been post-audited by the Loyalty Review Board, and in no case was the recommendation of the Department's Board changed.

9. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "Take, for example, case No. 1, which I presented on the Senate floor, the name has not yet been made public, so we shall not use it now. The committee has the name. In that case the Loyalty Review Board made what is known as a post-audit, and, after looking at the post-audit, they said, 'We are not satisfied with the finding.' They sent it back to the State Department Loyalty Board, and that Board said 'The case is closed.' That man is still on the State Department payroll."

The facts: Once again, Senator McCarthy's alleged quotations are not quotations -- they are typical misstatements. The Loyalty Review Board did not advise the Department of State that they were "not satisfied with the finding" in this case; they did make a procedural recommendation, and thereafter the case was not "closed". On the contrary, appropriate action was taken by the State Department Loyalty Security Board, and clearance in this case was again post-audited by the President's Loyalty Review Board. The Loyalty Review Board has in no way criticized or changed the final action and findings of the Department's Loyalty Security Board.

10. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "... In the Office of War Information, Mr. Owen Lattimore ... went to bat for one Communist ... who had been officially turned down by the Loyalty Board ... and another Chinese who had been rejected by one member of the board..."

The facts: As the Department pointed out in its analysis of the Senator's Rochester, New York, speech on May 25, he now appears to be reduced to an attempt to divert attention with 1943 Civil Service Commission clearances for Office of War Information employment of two Chinese.

As for Mr. Owen Lattimore, both Mr. Lattimore himself and the Department of State have repeatedly reiterated that he is not an employee of the Department.

At Wheeling, West Virginia, on February 9, 1950, Senator McCarthy asserted in a speech:

"... While I cannot take the time to name all the men in the State Department who have been named as active members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring, I have here in my hand a list of 205 - a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department."

The next day, he said he had the names of "57 card-carrying members of the Communist Party" allegedly working in the Department. Later he talked in terms of a "big three" and of 81 security risks of various sorts. He told the Tydings Committee to investigate 106 cases. Eventually, he said he would stand or fall on his ability to prove that there was one "top Soviet espionage agent" in the State Department.

And then, on June 6, we hear of 106 names on a four-year-old working chart and three "agents" purportedly still at large in the Department of State.

But the record - the facts - speak for themselves: Senator McCarthy has utterly failed to show that there is a single Communist or pro-Communist in the State Department. His numbers change; his credibility does not.

# New Charges By McCarthy Called 'False'

Senator Says State  
Dept. Has 3 Branded  
Soviet Agents in '46

By Alfred Friendly  
Post Reporter

Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) told his Senate colleagues yesterday that a minimum of three persons tagged as Soviet "agents" by the FBI four years ago are still in the State Department.

He said he knew their names and that the individuals were still holding high position.

Last night the State Department said McCarthy's statement was "absolutely false."

McCarthy's new information, he indicated, came from a 1946 document prepared by a State Department investigator who made reference to an FBI "chart" of categories of "Communist agents, Communists, Communist sympathizers and suspects" in the State Department as of May 15, 1946.

## Photostats Released

McCarthy made public photostats of two pages of the report, which summarized the alleged FBI tabulation as showing that on that date the totals were:

Agents .....	20
Communists .....	13
Sympathizers .....	14
Suspects .....	77

The State Department's comment on McCarthy's newest deluge of numbers of alleged subversives in its ranks read in part:

"The Senator based his charge upon the completely erroneous belief that the FBI prepared a chart referred to in the photostatic document which purportedly evaluated departmental personnel in terms of 'agents,' 'Communists,' 'sympathizers' and 'suspects.'"

"1. No such chart was ever re-

ceived by the State Department from the FBI.

"2. The Department of Justice has informed us that no such chart was ever prepared by the FBI."

"3. The chart in question was merely a preliminary document prepared by one of the State Department's security officers as a basis for further investigation."

"4. No persons purportedly identified on that chart as Communist agents, Communists and the like are now employed by the State Department except those whose loyalty has since been thoroughly checked, evaluated and reviewed under the President's Loyalty Review Board."

The department promised it would issue a further statement on the subject. In the meantime, officials indicated that the document was a working paper of an investigator, comprising listings of all people under suspicion, or against whom charges had been leveled.

The photostat that McCarthy circulated, however, included a passage in which the State Department investigator and author of the document said, "FBI has prepared a chart, now in the possession of (name deleted) which purports to show a number of 'agents' . . ."

The investigator, however, apparently seriously questioned the FBI classifications, for he said:

"It turned out that the FBI had produced no convincing proof that any persons was an actual agent. In other words, FBI had made no case to show espionage or a violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, or similar legislation, in any case. The word 'agent' was therefore being used by the FBI . . . to mean simply a suspect in espionage activities."

"No proof of actual Communist Party membership had been produced by the FBI. The word 'Communist,' therefore, was used merely to describe cases of such close affiliations as to lend credence to a hypothesis that the person in question was a member—a fact still to be proved."

McCarthy added that the word "sympathizer" was also subject to further of such qualifications and the word "suspect" was apparently an all-inclusive one and "it might or might not include anything significant."

Nevertheless, McCarthy told the Senate, if the FBI classed a man as an agent or Communist, he was willing to accept its judgment.

"That to me is proof," he said. "In my book that is proof despite all the screaming and squealing of those who say, 'McCarthy, you should not expose them because you are injuring those poor people; you are smearing them.'"

Senator Knowland (R., Calif.), commenting on the disclosure, said the material was "by far the most significant direct evidence" so far presented in the controversy over McCarthy's charges of "Communist infestation" of the Government in general and the State Department in particular.

Knowland said the special Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee investigating McCarthy's accusations would be "derelict" in its duty if it did not at once use its subpoena powers to obtain the original documents, including the FBI chart referred to.

He added that unless the persons named by the FBI were discharged, "it seems to me there may be a case for impeachment somewhere along the line."

— We ought to  
run this down  
find out who in  
State Dept. made  
this criticism of  
FBI & what it  
based on.

Wash. News

N.Y. Mirror

JUN 7 1950  
Date:

0-18  
Tolson ✓  
Ladd ✓  
Clegg ✓  
Glavin ✓  
Nichols ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Tracy ✓  
Harbo ✓  
Belmont ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Nease ✓  
Gandy ✓

*[Handwritten signature]*

MAILED  
JUN 22 1950  
7-23-23-27-85  
JUN 22 1950  
to Mr. [unclear]  
PPK

Senator Ives (R., N. Y.) rose to compliment McCarthy for his "effective presentation" and "constructive approach" in connection with his new material. It was much more effective, Ives said, than "coming here and naming names."

He chided McCarthy gently for not having enough faith in the desire of the other 95 Senators to root out subversives, Ives insisted they were as eager to do so as was McCarthy.

But he went on to compliment McCarthy highly for his "new approach" and to wish him good luck in it.

Last Thursday Ives joined six other Republican Senators in a vehement blast, clearly directed at McCarthy, against smear tactics and irresponsible accusations while protected by congressional immunity for libel action.

Two days later, however, in Ives' presence, the Young Republicans of his State unanimously indorsed McCarthy's campaign and "the spirit in which it was brought."

Earlier yesterday, even before Ives complimented McCarthy on the Senate floor, he declared that there was "accumulating evidence that the Administration is trying to whitewash the State Department" on the Communist charges.

The White House, meantime, deferred action yesterday on a reported plan to name a non-partisan citizens commission of three outstanding persons to review the files of some or all of the persons McCarthy has accused.

The plan, anticipated in press reports, came up for debate yesterday in connection with McCarthy's speech. McCarthy himself referred to the idea disdainfully, calling it a "trumped up" device, which would simply render "another whitewash."

Senator Mundt (R., S. Dak.) took a more hopeful view, but insisted such a commission could not return a report that would win the confidence of the American people and of Congress unless it was bipartisan in nature and unless the Republicans were selected by the Republican members of Congress, and not by the President.

And all Republicans who spoke insisted that the full files on all the cases must be made available to it, and that they should have been made available long since to the special Senate investigating subcommittee.

JUN 7 1950

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: June 9, 1950

FROM : D. M. LADD *DL*SUBJECT: CHARGES OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY  
CONCERNING FBI CHART ON COMMUNISTS  
ALLEGEDLY GIVEN TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Washington Post news item of 6-7-50)

Tolson	✓
Ladd	✓
Clegg	✓
Glavin	✓
Nichols	✓
Rosen	✓
Tracy	✓
Harbo	✓
Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Nease	✓
Gandy	✓

Reference is made to the attached newspaper article which appeared in the Washington Post on June 7, 1950 setting forth criticisms by the State Department of FBI investigations as quoted from a State Department document in the possession of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. You commented on this by stating: "We ought to run this down. Find out who in State Dept. wrote this criticism of FBI & what it is based on. H."

This matter was covered in my memorandum to you of June 7, 1950 from information obtained by Mr. Roach in the State Department that the newspaper article reflects the direct quotations by Senator McCarthy from the State Department report prepared by Mr. Samuel Klaus of that Department on August 3, 1946. This report of 'Klaus' (a copy of which the Bureau has now obtained) was in the form of a survey he made of the Security and Investigative Branch of the State Department in which he criticized their operation and also that of the FBI. As previously pointed out, numerous statements of fact were totally erroneous in this report, particularly those in which Klaus states that the FBI prepared a chart.

In view of the total unreliability of Klaus, plus his antagonistic attitude toward the Bureau over a number of years, it is not believed advisable that we should interview him at this time. If you feel however that some action should be taken in this matter, it is believed that it would be more effective, as far as the Bureau is concerned, to prepare a letter to either Under Secretary Webb or Deputy Under Secretary Peurifoy protesting the statements made by Klaus in his report which has resulted in the erroneous newspaper comment.

ATTACHMENT

HRR:mk

*I suggest  
protest  
to Webb*

6/9

*yes agree*

RECORDED  
OK

121-23278-185  
JUN 22 1950  
34

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

*See to Hon. James E. Webb  
6-14-50  
RWL:lan*

RECORDED  
BY

June 14, 1950

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable James E. Webb  
Under Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909

ON 4/12/78 DLG/PLC

Dear Mr. Webb:

Recent newspaper articles have come to my attention containing statements made by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, wherein he quoted excerpts from the State Department report prepared by Mr. Samuel Klaus of your Department which referred particularly to an alleged "FBI Chart."

The comments made by Mr. Klaus in his report concerning this alleged "FBI Chart", as they appeared in the newspapers, were completely erroneous. This Bureau did not send any such chart to the State Department, and, of course, made no evaluation of information as was indicated in the report. The author of the report took occasion to criticize the FBI in this report. This Bureau does not claim to be infallible; however, it appears that, if the State Department had any questions concerning the report, the matter should have been discussed with us at that time. I want to point out that the erroneous statements made by Mr. Klaus were highly embarrassing and prejudicial to the FBI.

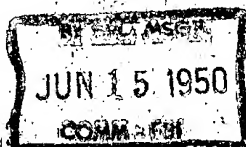
As you are aware, this Bureau cooperates fully with your Department through established liaison channels. I thought you would be interested in knowing the true facts in this matter, and they are being furnished to you for whatever action you may deem desirable.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

RWL;OHB:hke;smk



olson  
add  
egg  
avin  
chois  
sen  
acy  
rbo  
hr  
le. Room  
agg  
ndy

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP  
DATE 4-12-78 BY [signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

② Did we  
make any such  
charts?  
K

Tolson ✓  
Ladd ✓  
Clegg ✓  
Glavin ✓  
Nichols ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Tracy ✓  
Harbo ✓  
Belmont ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Nease ✓  
Gandy ✓

S. Laughlin  
C. Stanley

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: June 20, 1950  
4:15 p.m.

FROM : V. P. Keary

SUBJECT:

Comments on State Department

About one week ago, a letter was addressed to Undersecretary of State James E. Webb, marked Personal and Confidential, concerning the alleged "FBI chart" which was mentioned by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. This chart was mentioned by the Senator as coming from a State Department report. U \* FBI Chart

The Bureau letter to Undersecretary Webb advised him that the alleged "FBI chart" was contained in a report prepared by Mr. Samuel Klaus of the State Department and that the comments made by Mr. Klaus were completely erroneous. Mr. Webb was advised that the Bureau did not send a chart to the State Department. U

Special Agent R. W. Lawrence of the Liaison Section telephoned from the State Department at 4:10 p.m., this afternoon, and advised that Assistant Secretary of State Peurifoy has requested the use of this letter at his appearance before the Tydings Committee tomorrow morning, June 21, 1950. Special Agent Lawrence is awaiting a telephonic answer so that Mr. Peurifoy can be advised concerning this matter. U

OHB:mls

ADDENDUM: A tickler copy of the letter in question is attached. Inasmuch as this represents the position of the FBI, it is recommended that clearance be given for Peurifoy to use it as he sees fit. AHB:tlc

JUN 30 1950

It is up to him

6/20

RECORDED - 28  
INDEXED - 28

If he uses it he must  
use the whole letter

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Clegg ✓  
Mr. Glavin ✓  
Mr. Ladd ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy ✓  
Mr. Egan ✓  
Mr. Gurnea ✓  
Mr. Harbo ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Pennington ✓  
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Nease ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

Mr. Nichols  
State Dept. adv.  
25 p.m. Comments  
1950 6-20-50

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

② Did we  
make any such  
checks?  
K

Tolson ☒  
Ladd ☒  
Clegg ☒  
Glavin ☒  
Nichols ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Tracy ☒  
Harbo ☒  
Belmont ☒  
Mohr ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Nease ☐  
Gandy ☐

*L. Loughlin*  
*CAS Stanley*

ADD 2 AMERASIA (1241P)

3. TYDINGS SOUGHT TO SPEED UP CONCLUSION OF THE COMMUNIST INVESTIGATION BY ORDERING A SUNDAY NIGHT CUT-OFF DATE ON SENATORS' EXAMINATIONS OF THE 81 LOYALTY FILES. THE COMMITTEE HAS HAD ACCESS TO THE FILES, LOCATED IN THE WHITE HOUSE CABINET ROOM, FOR ABOUT TWO MONTHS.

TYDINGS REVEALED THAT HE HAD REQUESTED THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND THE FBI TO INVESTIGATE MCCARTHY'S OFT-REPEATED ALLEGATIONS OF FILE TAMPERING. THE WISCONSIN SENATOR HAD TERMED THE RECORDS "DENUDED LOOSE LEAF FILES" FROM WHICH DAMAGING INFORMATION HAD BEEN REMOVED. TYDINGS SAID THAT THE RESULTS OF A FILE-BY-FILE EXAMINATION WERE MADE AVAILABLE TO HIM BY THE DEPARTMENT TODAY AND THAT THE REPORT SHOWED:

- "1. THE FILES ARE INTACT;
- "2. THE FILES HAVE NOT BEEN RAPED;
- "3. THE FILES HAVE NOT BEEN SKELETONIZED OR TAMPERED WITH."

THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT'S LETTER, TYDINGS SAID, WAS SIGNED BY PEYTON FORD, ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. TYDINGS DECLINED TO MAKE THE TEXT PUBLIC ON GROUNDS THAT IT CARRIED THE NAMES OF THE THUSFAR PUBLICLY UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS COVERED BY MCCARTHY'S "81 CASES," LAID BEFORE THE SENATE IN FEBRUARY.

TYDINGS REPORTED THAT IN MORE THAN ONE-HALF OF THE CASES "FULL FIELD INVESTIGATIONS" HAD BEEN CONDUCTED AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST BY THE FBI.

"I HAVE BEEN ADVISED BY FBI AGENTS THAT ALL OF THE MATERIAL GATHERED BY THE FBI TOUCHING ON THE LOYALTY OF THE EMPLOYEES IN QUESTION HAS BEEN SENT TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND ARE PART OF THE FILES WHICH OUR COMMITTEE HAS EXAMINED," TYDINGS SAID.

6/21--JW1259P

*memo to file*  
*6-22-50*  
*CH/meg*

*Is this correct?*  
*H.*

*121-23218-186*

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: June 22, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: STATE DEPARTMENT FILES ON INDIVIDUALS NAMED  
BY SENATOR MC CARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEESALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Tolson	✓
Ladd	
Clegg	
Glavin	
Nichols	✓
Rosen	
Tracy	
Harbo	
Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Nease	

PURPOSE

To advise you regarding check of Bureau files relative to dissemination of information to State Department on the cases mentioned by McCarthy and to inform you that we have made no examination of the State Department files to ascertain whether they have been tampered with as alleged by Senator McCarthy nor have we advised Senator Tydings that all of the material gathered by the Bureau touching on the loyalty of the 81 individuals in question has been sent to the State Department and is a part of the files which the Tydings Subcommittee examined.

BACKGROUND

The United Press news tickler yesterday carried a statement that Senator Tydings had revealed he had requested the Justice Department and the FBI to investigate Senator McCarthy's allegations of State Department file tampering and that the results of a file-by-file examination were made available to Tydings by the Justice Department and showed that the files were intact, had not been raped and had not been skeletonized or tampered with. The press release reports Senator Tydings as referring to Justice Department letter signed by Peyton Ford, the text of which Senator Tydings declined to make public on grounds that it carried the names of the thus far publicly unidentified individuals covered by Senator McCarthy's 81 cases. Senator Tydings is also quoted as stating, "I have been advised by FBI Agents that all of the material gathered by the FBI touching on the loyalty of the employees in question has been sent to the State Department and are part of the files which our Committee has examined."

With respect to the comment by Tydings concerning a request of the Justice Department and the FBI to investigate Senator McCarthy's allegations of State Department file tampering and Senator Tydings comment that the result of a file-by-file examination had been made available to him by the Justice Department, you noted, "Did we make any such check?"

You may recall that by memorandum of May 10, 1950, Peyton Ford furnished us with a list of the 81 individuals whose names were included on a "subpoena" list received from the Tydings Subcommittee. In this memorandum Peyton Ford advised us that the Attorney General wished to prepare at the earliest possible moment a letter to Senator Tydings listing, first, those individuals in the group on whom loyalty investigations were conducted and attaching copies of the Bureau's transmittal letters or memoranda to the Civil Service Commission. It was also pointed out in Mr. Ford's memorandum that in the group of 81 cases there undoubtedly would be cases in which a loyalty investigation was never instituted or cases in which investigations were instituted but later discontinued because the individuals

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had left the Government service; that it was desired the Bureau list these individuals with an indication of what transpired in this respect and that we also make identifying reference to any memoranda forwarded to the State Department prior to, during or following the loyalty investigation in those instances where a loyalty investigation had been conducted and also in those instances where no loyalty investigation had been made.

In accordance with this request of Mr. Peyton Ford, we prepared a brief setting forth the material he had requested and furnished it to him under date of May 15, 1950.

This brief which was furnished to the Department to assist the Attorney General in preparing a letter to Senator Tydings is probably the basis for Senator Tydings' comment since it is noted he alludes to a letter received by him signed by Peyton Ford. However, it is noted that Tydings is reported as stating that the results of a file-by-file examination were made available to him by the Department and that this report showed that the files were intact, had not been raped, had not been skeletonized or tampered with. The only files that we have examined are the Bureau files and we have made no file-by-file examination of the State Department's files in connection with this matter for the purpose of determining whether they contained all the material which has been furnished to the State Department by the Bureau concerning the 81 individuals in question.

With further reference to this particular matter, you may recall that by memorandum of May 9, 1950, I advised you that Mr. Peyton Ford had advised Mr. Nichols and me that he was going to assign Mike Horan from his office to review all of the State Department files which the President was making available to the Tydings Subcommittee prior to the time they were made available to the Committee for the purpose of blocking out the names of any confidential informants or sources which should be protected in Bureau reports. Mr. Ford requested the Bureau to make an Agent available to work with Mike Horan on this project. Both Mr. Nichols and I advised him that we could not do this; that the FBI should not be a party to reviewing the State Department files prior to the time they were made available to a Senate Committee by the President. Mr. Ford then suggested the Bureau might go through its own files, checking the material which has been sent to the State Department to see if there are any names which the Bureau desired blocked out as undesirable for the Committee to see and we again pointed out that this also would be impractical and unwise. It was suggested that in the event Mike Horan was going to make this review that if, during the review of the reports, he had any questions regarding any particular reports, he then contact the Bureau. You noted on my memorandum of May 9, 1950, "Right. I want no part to review of such files or the blocking out of information."

With respect to the comment attributed to Senator Tydings that he had been advised by FBI Agents that all of the material gathered by the FBI touching on the loyalty of the employees in question had been sent to the State Department and was a part of the files which the Tydings Subcommittee examined, you noted, "Is this correct?". We have never made any such comment to Senator Tydings.

ACTION

None. This is for your information.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: April 27, 1959

FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

SUBJECT: SUB-COMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

*Communist In The State Department*  
Reference is made to my previous letter of this date concerning captioned matter. *u*

At the conclusion of the questioning by Chief Counsel MORGAN, Senator HICKENLOOPER took up the questioning of Mr. BROWDER. He first inquired as to whether BROWDER had ever been a member of the International Workers Order. The witness stated he had not but admitted having attended meetings and to have been very familiar with the organization. Senator HICKENLOOPER then brought up again the matter of Mr. BROWDER's contact with SUMNER WELLES at the time the latter was Undersecretary of State, regarding Chinese foreign policy. He was specifically asked why he had transmitted the information furnished to him by Mr. WELLES to Madame SUN YAT SEN. BROWDER stated that the understanding between him and Mr. WELLES was that he was to be permitted to publish the information and that he furnished it to Madame SEN with the hope she would publish it in China. *u*

Senator HICKENLOOPER then questioned the witness regarding the change in American foreign policy toward China, asking him if it were not so that the Communist Party had succeeded in having the American foreign policy changed to fit in with their own ideas. Mr. BROWDER stated that this was not so but that the State Department had changed it because of the necessity in the carrying on of the war and that the Communist Party apparently recognized the need for this line of action prior to the State Department. He did admit that the Communist Party policy as advocated was substantially incorporated into the policy of the United States. *u*

Senator HICKENLOOPER then questioned the witness as to whether or not he had ever conspired with anyone or attempted to secure the transmittal of confidential information from American Government sources to the Soviet Government or agents of that government. Mr. BROWDER denied that he ever had. He then asked him specifically if he had ever delivered any information or caused to be delivered any information to the Soviet Government or its agents to which question Mr. BROWDER issued a definite denial. *u*

Senator HICKENLOOPER then questioned him concerning his visit to Russia in 1946 but no new information regarding his trip was developed. He then questioned him about International World Communism and his views and the views of the Party regarding that situation, but BROWDER evaded the question by stating that the discussion would consume too much time, possibly running into years. *u*

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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Letter to Director, FBI  
ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR MCCARTHY  
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April 27, 1950

He was then asked concerning the advocacy of the Communist form of government in this country and was questioned as to whether such a directive had ever been received from the Soviet Government. BROWDER claimed that he did not advocate or believe in the Communist form of government for the United States and that it was contrary to STALIN's policy, stating that STALIN had only contempt for leaders of another country who would take orders directly from Moscow. Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked him how he reconciled that with the MARSHAL TITO situation in Yugoslavia. Mr. BROWDER did not make any observation in regard to this.

Going back to his previous testimony that while in Russia in 1946, BROWDER had made an agreement with Soviet publishers to promote the sale of their books in this country, he stated upon questioning from Senator HICKENLOOPER that he had severed this connection with the Soviet publishers in July, 1949. He also denied upon questioning that he had ever received any instructions from Moscow on how to proceed in accordance with Communist Party doctrine and he denied that he had ever communicated with Russia as to what position Communists in the United States should take on certain issues. He stated he had sought consultation with the Communist Party of Russia relative to problems of the world and of America but that he had had no such contact with the Russian Government. BROWDER also stated these consultations did not amount to a conspiracy but only concerned political views and the furtherance of a program for progress. At this point BROWDER pointed out to the committee at the present time he is not a spokesman for any organization and therefore, did not feel he was in a position to speak concerning the official policies of the Communist Party.

He was then asked if during his tenure of office in the Communist Party, they had conspired to overthrow the Government of the United States and he denied that such was the case while he was a member or office holder in the Communist Party.

B-933 { He was then questioned concerning his acquaintance with ALGER HISS and he claimed he had never heard of HISS until FBI Agents contacted him and requested him to identify a photograph which he later learned was that of ALGER HISS. He claimed prior to this contact, he never saw nor heard of ALGER HISS before. He, upon questioning, also denied that he knew WHITTAKER CHAMBERS but admitted that he did know CHAMBERS was a Communist Party member in the early 1920s. He stated that CHAMBERS had disappeared

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ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR MCCARTHY  
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April 27, 1950

as far as he knew and he, therefore, surmised he was out of the Party. BROWDER then was questioned concerning the receipt of funds, or equivalent thereof, from the Communist Party of Russia, Russian Government or agents of either of these two groups. BROWDER stated that in connection with the Spanish Civil War, he received funds from sources abroad to help in the organization of the International Brigade; however, he refused to divulge the identity of the sources of these funds since he felt it would possibly involve someone in trouble in the year 1940 over something that had happened in 1937. He categorically denied he had ever received any funds from sources abroad for promoting the Communist Party program in the United States. When asked specifically if he had ever attended any conferences in the Russian Embassy in Washington, D. C., or in any of the Russian Consulates, with regard to Communist Party activities in this country, he claimed that he never had. He admitted upon questioning that he was acquainted with FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD and stated that he first met him in 1941. He denied that he had ever seen him in the Communist Party Headquarters in New York City and denied that he ever assigned him to any mission for the Communist Party or for the purpose of engaging in espionage activities. In this connection he also stated he had never requested any one to perform espionage activities on behalf of the Communist Party or the Russian Government.

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He was then asked if he had ever been in contact with one ~~CHUNG~~ P. WOO (ph). BROWDER admitted that he had been in contact with this individual, the last time being when the Chinese Delegation was en route to the United Nations Conferences in San Francisco, California. He refused to state what had been discussed at this meeting, stating the nature of the discussion was highly confidential. He refused to state whether JOHN SERVICE and JOHN CARTER VINCENT were present at this meeting. He also refused to admit knowing PHILIP IAFTE and would not state whether or not he was at the meeting above referred to. BROWDER claimed he felt he should have the permission of the man involved since the discussion concerned problems of a confidential nature dealing with the United States and that it was impossible to obtain the permission of the person involved, namely Mr. WOO. *W.W.*

*Tung P.W.*

At this point BROWDER engaged in a tirade against "fishing expeditions" and "smear campaigns" and stated he would refuse to answer as to whether or not he knew individuals because if he admitted being acquainted, it would jeopardize their careers in public life.

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ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR MCCARTHY  
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April 27, 1950

In furtherance of this line of questioning, BROWDER also refused to state whether or not OWEN LATTIMORE was in attendance at the meeting previously referred to. With regard to JAFFE, however, he finally did admit under questioning that he had met JAFFE at a Communist Party meeting in New York City.

With regard to J. PETERS, BROWDER characterized him as a minor functionary in the Party and stated he had not seen him in the Party circles for the past few years. He denied that he had ever requested PETERS to obtain espionage information for him and also denied he had received information from PETERS to engage in espionage activities. He denied he had ever received instructions from anyone to engage in the gathering of confidential information contrary to the best interests of the United States.

Senator HICKENLOOPER then referred to the previous testimony of BROWDER concerning his visit to China in 1927 and 1928. In answer to questioning, BROWDER stated that at the time he was Secretary of the Kansas City Trade Union and that while in China during that period he worked very closely with the Chinese Communists. He also stated in response to questioning that during the period from 1921 to present, he had made about eighteen or twenty trips out of the United States. When asked if he had ever declared his official connection with the Communist Party when re-entering this country from these various trips abroad, BROWDER stated he had not and he was not aware of any such requirement.

When questioned concerning ELIZABETH TERRELL BENTLEY, BROWDER stated that he knew her but did not know her as a Communist, only as a secretary and employee. He claimed not to have any knowledge that she attended any policy meetings of the Communist Party and that to the best of his knowledge, she had never received any espionage assignments or furnished to him any information of a security nature. He further admitted that he knew JACOB GOLOS, now deceased, and denied that he had been present at any meeting where Soviet representatives conferred with GOLOS or Miss BENTLEY.

Regarding his trip to Russia in 1946 after his expulsion from the Communist Party, USA, BROWDER stated in answer to a question by Senator HICKENLOOPER that he had had a conference with MOLOTOV during his stay in Moscow. He denied that he had been in contact, however, with any leaders of the Communist Party in Moscow as such, claiming that he had only seen MOLOTOV and another individual whose name sounded like VLESOWSKI. He claimed

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ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR McCARTHY  
IGE

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April 27, 1950

he did not wish to name any of the other individuals with whom he had been in contact during his visit to Moscow at that time.

When asked if he were acquainted with ABE FLAXER, he stated he recognized the name as being that of a union leader but would not elaborate further. He refused to state whether or not he knew FLAXER as a Communist. When asked if he knew DOROTHY KENYON and a Mr. HANSEN, he refused to answer, again lashing out at the Committee, labeling their inquiry a "smear". He also would not answer the question as to whether he knew these individuals to be Communists. He was then asked if he knew the following individuals:

NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER  
LUDWIG MILLMAN  
JOHN ABT  
NATHAN WITT  
ALBERT RYCE WILLIAMS

BROWDER refused to answer. He was then asked if he had attended any meetings at the "Daily Worker" or any other place where BUDENZ was present. He claimed that he could recall two or three meetings which were held at BROWDER's office where BUDENZ was in attendance. He claimed that staff members of the Communist Party were also present at these meetings and that the discussion concerned the work of Communists among members of the Catholic faith, which was a project that BUDENZ felt he could engage in with profit. BROWDER claimed he could not recall whether WILLIAM FOSTER or JACK STACHEL were present at these meetings. He was then asked if STACHEL had ever directed him to obtain secret information to which he replied in the negative. He also denied he had ever received any directive from Moscow instructing him to engage in the obtaining of secret information. With regard to BUDENZ's position as Managing Editor of the "Daily Worker", BROWDER claimed that in this position BUDENZ had nothing to do with policy but that his sole function was to act as a technical man.

Senator TYDINGS then began questioning the witness regarding his refusal to answer as to whether he had knowledge that HANSEN or KENYON were members of the Communist Party and he reluctantly stated as far as he knew, neither individual had any organizational connections as members or friends of the Communist Party.

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LGE

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He was then further questioned about his meetings with individuals in the State Department and he stated that he had met with SUMNER WELLES who was then Undersecretary of State, once in 1942 and again in 1943. He stated the meeting in 1942 was in connection with a speech he, BROWDER, had made concerning the U. S. Foreign Policy in China and that it was at the request of Mr. WELLES that he contacted him, at which time, according to his story, Mr. WELLES had pointed out that he was in error in his complaints about personnel in the State Department and that he was not aware of the true situation. He further claimed that in 1943 he had contacted Mr. WELLES concerning a proposed trip to Mexico since he felt that in fairness to the State Department he should give them notice in advance. He further said at this time Mr. WELLES requested him not to make the trip to Mexico and that he did not go. He subsequently determined that the reason for the request was the fact that President ROOSEVELT was meeting with the President of Mexico in Monterrey at that time and had BROWDER pursued his planned itinerary, he would have passed through Monterrey at the time of the meeting. He further stated ROBERT MINOR, an official of the Communist Party was with him at the meetings with WELLES. When asked if he had ever cooperated with the Office of Strategic Services, he stated he did not cooperate personally but that he knew there were members of the Communist Party in this organization. BROWDER stated LAUCHLIN CURRIE was with SUMNER WELLES at the meetings. *first meeting.*

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He was then questioned by Senator TYDINGS regarding membership on the part of CARTER or SERVICE in the Communist Party and BROWDER, after much persuasion said that they, to his knowledge, never had any direct or indirect connection with the Communist Party.

The hearing was adjourned at 1:05 P. M. until further notice.

121-13947  
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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

DATE: June 29, 1950

FROM : A. H. BELMONT *pk*

SUBJECT: SENATOR MC CARTHY'S CHARGES  
AGAINST THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Tolson ☒  
Ladd ☐  
Clegg ☐  
Glavin ☒  
Nichols ☒  
Rosen ☐  
Tracy ☐  
Harbo ☐  
Mohr ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Nease ☐  
Gandy ☐

Mr. Roach has been informed in confidence by various officials of the State Department that the hearing of Senator McCarthy's charges against the State Department will be brought to a conclusion by Senator Tydings on or about July 15. The present plan is that Senator Tydings will take the floor of the Senate in a four-hour speech outlining the charges of McCarthy giving a summary of the results of the hearing, followed by recommendations. The recommendations, which Senator Tydings will allegedly make, will be in the form of a "whitewash" of the State Department and the charges placed against it by Senator McCarthy.

## ACTION

None. This memorandum is prepared for your information.

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TO:

Director

Mr. Tolson

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Harbo

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Tracy

Mr. Q. Tamm

Mr. Mohr

Miss Gandy

Mr. Nease

Mr. Pennington

Mr. Winterrowd

Mr. J. A. Carlson

Mr. Hargett

Mrs. Henley

Miss Jess

Mrs. Davidson

Chief Clerk's Off.

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Mr. Keay

Mr. Stanley

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Mr. Ferris

Foreign Service Desk

Mr. Callan

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Call Me

Appropriate action

Note & return

Send file

Bring up-to-date

Correct

Re-date

Please initial & return

Place on record & return

Place on record

Per conversation

Advise status

D. M. Ladd - Rm. 5736  
Telephone Ext. 555